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NATIONAL REVIEW

SOME PEACE! SOME PARTNER!

Paul Johnson ◆ Jay Nordlinger ◆ David Pryce-Jones
The Editors

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NATIONAL REVIEW

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■ LETTERS ■

ONE PROUD MOTHER

"Baffled rage, awe, and gratitude"—Rob Long ("Uncle Sam Wants Them," March 25) sums up a whole family's range of reactions in those words. I am a mother of six—two of whom are 20-year-old twins who serve in the United States Marine Corps.

In a family that includes children born between 1970 and 1986, you can imagine the polarity of views on not one, but two siblings joining the Marines. Yes, rage and awe, respect, and now during war, gratitude and fear.

Mr. Long's piece accurately describes my boys—having endured a turbulent adolescence, they were turned by the Marines into trim, respectful men. My gratitude goes to my boys for signing on the dotted line and to the Marine Corps for the superior training; and my prayer goes to God for their safety. After all, I'll always be a mother first, and then a patriot.

Thea J. Bohannon
Virginia Beach, Va.

GIVES HIM FEVER

NATIONAL REVIEW has succumbed to another bout of anti-immigration fever. In his April 22 article ("May We Get Serious Now?"), John O'Sullivan declares that "the [Sept. 11] hijackers were all immigrants." Wrong; none of them was. Like most foreigners who enter the country, they were all here on temporary "non-immigrant" tourist or student visas. They never applied to the INS for green cards or any other permanent status.

In a typical year, about 24 million foreigners enter temporarily as tourists, another 5 million as business travelers, half a million as students, and half a million as temporary workers. All of them enter on temporary visas and almost all of them leave the country after a few days or weeks. The additional million or so who enter each year to immigrate make up only about 3 percent of the total number of foreigners who typically enter the country annually.

Anti-immigrant crusaders blur this distinction for an obvious reason: Their most pressing agenda is immigration reduction. That's why Mark Krikorian spends almost all of his March 25 article ("Get Tight") arguing for drastic cuts in the 3 percent of foreign-born arrivals who come here to immigrate. Of the more than 90 percent of foreign-born visitors who enter as tourists or business travelers each year, he can only manage the rejoinder that "tourists will keep coming." Krikorian wants to close the small window that allows immigrants in, even though none of the Sept. 11 terrorists came through it, while ignoring the much larger barn door of temporary visas through which all the terrorists entered.

The misguided focus hurts the war on terrorism because the resources we now squander to raid construction sites and meatpacking plants in pursuit of peaceful immigrant workers could be better used to intercept and track down terrorists.

Daniel T. Griswold
Cato Institute
Washington, D.C.

DON'T GIVE UP ON HISPANICS

In "Hasta La Vista, Baby" (April 8) John O'Sullivan displays too much pessimism regarding Republican Hispanic-outreach efforts. Among other things, he laments that Hispanics trend Democratic the longer they reside here.

Why not look at it this way? The less time Hispanics have spent in this country, the more amenable they are to the Republican message—*before* they've been swallowed up by the Democratic machine. Why not go after these voters? Because Mr. O'Sullivan believes that "continuing immigration channels new, poor Hispanic voters into the Democratic ranks." Of course it does. And it will continue as long as do-nothing attitudes support such predictions.

We should target newer immigrants, attract them, and include them—instead of surrendering them to the Democrats.

Hispanics overwhelmingly desire to be a part of this country. They want their children to learn the language of success: English. They want to compete in our markets and be free to succeed and to fail on their own. They are Americans and desire to be considered as such. Hispanics are waiting for a long-overdue message of welcome from Republicans. Let's not disappoint them.

Raul Damas
Opiniones Latinas
Washington, D.C.

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A world of ideas on public policy.

ıcremental Innovation nproves Patient Health

Albert I. Wertheimer

The process of repeated incremental improvement is the predominant mechanism of innovation and product development within most manufacturing and high-hnology companies, including pharmaceutical npanies. In fact, the history of clinical pharmacology is characterized by incremental improvements in the safety, efficacy, selectivity, and utility drugs within a given class. Some critics believe t these incremental advances are too costly and not ultimately benefit the consumer. In this view, v agents in a class are merely "me-too" drugs h no significant differences from the original nts. This is a misconception. The new medicines ulting from this evolutionary process can offer vantages in terms of improved efficacy, better ient satisfaction and compliance and, in many es, cost savings.

The existence of multiple agents within a en drug class offers many advantages. One is the ilability of alternative agents in cases of treatnt failure, and of backup in case an agent is withwn from the market. The development of drug oduct classes is analogous to the evolution of biical species, and the advantages of diversity hin groups of pharmaceutical products (i.e., armacodiversity") are similar to the advantages biodiversity. Within a drug class, products with ying features compete for patients. The emerce of new disease and patient targets expands role of some agents; others are disadvantaged newly discovered adverse effects. Thus, those oducts that are the best "fit" for their environment minate the marketplace. Other products may ome extinct and still others maintain positions in che markets."

The availability of multiple agents within a drug class also makes it possible to vary dosage delivery systems and dosage forms, which in turn allows extended uses with a variety of patient populations. Advanced delivery systems provide sustained therapeutic drug levels for long periods of time, can enable the use of smaller or fewer doses, allow a less invasive mode of administration, and prolong circulation of short-lived compounds. Newer drugs in a therapeutic class often represent improvements in therapeutic and adverse effects profiles, metabolism, dosing schedules, ease of administration, and other features. These findings apply to drug classes used to treat many common diseases and patient groups, especially the elderly.

The process of incremental innovation has resulted in striking improvements in existing drug therapy and patient care, and in some cases in reduced total costs for therapy

Moreover, patient responses to and toleration of agents are subject to great individual variations. The availability of a broad range of medicines gives physicians a "tool chest" for treating the individual needs of diverse patients with precision, as well as for giving those patients options when the first agent used is either ineffective or not well-tolerated.

In addition, some incremental innovations have been associated with overall cost savings. Newer agents of a class, or new formulations of existing agents, often enable new cost-effective uses or more efficient treatment for the original indication. These savings can come from reduced overall treatment costs due to shortened or eliminated hospital stays, less need for surgery, increased worker efficiency, and less absenteeism. Moreover, since incremental innovations must compete with their predecessors for market share, they are often priced at a discount. New drugs in a class are frequently priced lower than existing agents within that class.

Policies that limit the availability of incremental drug innovations may deny access to important therapies, reduce competition, and erode incentives for research. Over time, the process of incremental innovation has resulted in striking improvements in existing drug therapy and patient care, and in some cases in reduced total costs for therapy. However, short-term attempts to contain current costs, in the form of price controls or limitations on reimbursement for incremental innovations, may reduce incentives for research on these products. Access to important therapies could be reduced and competition within drug classes could diminish. Therapeutics would become less differentiated; the "average patient" would be treated with the "average drug." Patients with more specific needs would not receive individualized treatment because more selective pharmaceutical therapies would not exist.

Policy makers must weigh the risks and benefits associated with cost-containment tactics that limit the availability of incremental pharmaceutical innovation. Since drug therapy is generally agreed to be the most cost-effective treatment modality, the economic as well as the clinical stakes are high.

Albert I. Wertheimer, Ph.D., M.B.A., is director of the Center for Pharmaceutical Health Services Research at Temple University School of Pharmacy. This article is based on a longer study – "Too Many Drugs? The Clinical and Economic Value of Incremental Innovations," co-authored with Richard Levy, Ph.D. and Thomas W. O'Connor, Pharm.D., M.B.A – that was published in **Investing in Health: The Social and Economic Benefits of Health Care Innovation,** ***vol. 14 (2001), pp. 77-118. The full study is available online at http://www.npcnow.org/productlist/PDF/toomanydrugs.pdf***

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■ Wirthlin Worldwide poll: President **Bush**'s job approval at 78 percent. . . . Bush on whether **Osama bin Laden** is alive, on Britain's ITV: "I have no idea. But I'll tell you this: He's not making a lot of noise these days. And maybe he's dug in one of those holes. But there's not a hole deep enough. They're going to get him if he's still alive." . . . On war against terrorism: "I know there's a certain kind of anxiety amongst people in the press, for example, who want this thing over with tomorrow. But that's not the nature of this war. This is a different kind of war. This is a war that requires incredible patience and resolve. And make no mistake about it: I've got the patience and the resolve necessary to win, and so does my country." . . . On Iraq's **Saddam Hussein**: "I made up my mind that Saddam needs to go. . . . The policy of my government is that he goes."

■ Bush endorses cloning ban: "Human cloning is deeply troubling to me, and to most Americans. Life is a creation, not a commodity. Our children are gifts to be loved and protected, not products to be designed and manufactured. Allowing cloning would be taking a significant step toward a society in which human beings are grown for spare body parts, and children are engineered to custom specifications; and that's not acceptable."

■ At state convention, Florida Democrats boo when party chairman **Terry McAuliffe** calls Bush "our one and only commander in chief," reports *Washington Post*. . . . Rep. **Cynthia McKinney** (D., Ga.) calls for investigation to determine whether Bush personally knew about 9/11 attacks before they occurred: "Persons close to this administration are poised to make huge profits off America's new war," she says in radio interview. . . . Sen. **Zell Miller** (D., Ga.), on McKinney's statement: "Very dangerous and irresponsible. . . . I hope President Bush will remember that this is the same congresswoman who, during each of his State of the Union addresses, arrives early to get a coveted aisle seat, then leans way over as Bush walks down the aisle, hoping he will give her a kiss for all to see on national TV." . . . Afghanistan war probably will cost $10.2 billion this year, says Congressional Budget Office.

■ CNN poll of Democrats: 43 percent say **Gore** should run for president in 2004, and 48 percent say he shouldn't; last September, 65 percent thought he should and 31 percent thought he shouldn't. . . . In University of Massachusetts poll, gubernatorial candidate **Mitt Romney** (R.) leads all potential Democratic challengers by at least 8 points. . . . Republican campaign committees in House and Senate raise twice as much hard money as Democratic counterparts. . . . **Bill McBride** raises more money than Janet Reno as both run to capture Democratic nomination for governor of Florida. . . . Sen. **Jesse Helms** (R., N.C.) promises to campaign for **Elizabeth Dole** to succeed him and addresses concern that she's carpetbagging, in Raleigh *News & Observer*: "I don't believe the criticism is going to stick." . . . Helms signs contract with Random House to write memoir. . . . Utah Jazz basketball star **Karl Malone** (R.) considers running for governor of Arkansas when he retires.

PSYCHIATRIC INSTITUTE

"My inner child can whip your inner child!"

■ In Gallup poll, **JFK** is most popular ex-president, with 83 percent job-approval rating, followed by **Ronald Reagan** with 73 percent. **Bill Clinton**'s rating is 51 percent positive and 47 percent negative, making him one of three presidents with a lower rating out of office than in office (others are LBJ and Nixon). . . . Clinton discusses his low esteem among historians on History Channel: "First of all, I think most of those historians that are polled read the press for eight years. And I bet that very few of them could pass a test on what we did."

■ Pentagon says it will have missile-defense system running at Fort Greely, Alaska, by October 2004. Air Force Lt. Gen. **Ronald Kadish**, in *New York Times*: "We are becoming increasingly confident that we will be able to make hit-to-kill work reliably enough to be effective." . . . Gen. **James Jones** is first Marine to be picked as Supreme Allied Commander in Europe. . . . Commissioner **Abigail Thernstrom** on U.S. Commission on Civil Rights: "It sullies the drive for civil rights and taints a cause to which every American should be committed." . . . On May 8, **Ed Feulner** celebrates 25th anniversary as president of Heritage Foundation. . . . George Mason National Memorial opens in Washington, D.C., on Mall near Jefferson Memorial.

■ Afghan leader **Hamid Karzai** vows to rebuild at least one of the enormous Bamiyan Buddhas demolished by Taliban last year, though funding remains unclear. . . . In Zogby poll of U.S. registered voters, **Yasser Arafat**'s unfavorable rating is 78 percent. . . . In Nepal, Maoist rebels behead 27 police officers. . . . Jewish human-rights group B'nai B'rith International, which has advocated an International Criminal Court since the Nuremberg trials, suspends its support. It fears the court would unfairly target Israel. . . . Israeli Defense Forces website (www.idf.il) proves invaluable alternative news source, includes evidence seized from Arafat's compound and other primary sources.

■ **Jay Leno**: "The Mexican Senate has denied President **Vicente Fox** permission to travel to the United States—ironically making him the only person in Mexico who can't get across the border." **NR**

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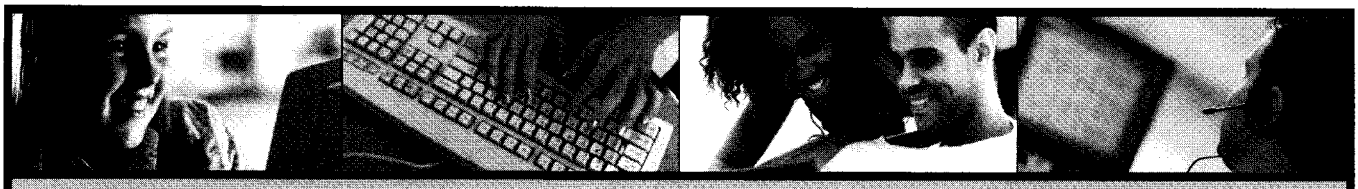

AGAINST NATURE

The forces of nature often leave a trail of devastation; but the destruction caused by Hurricane Mitch in Nicaragua and other parts of Central America in 1998 was almost unimaginable—11,000 dead, 2 million homeless, and $10 billion in damage.

For Save the Children, a leading international child development and relief organization, Hurricane Mitch demonstrated all too vividly the challenges of responding to nature's onslaught. While relief workers were deployed immediately to assess the devastation and determine what kind of help was needed, it took days to gather that information and coordinate it in a central database. Only then could Save the Children determine where and what kind of aid was needed first.

Emergency relief efforts to deal with natural disasters and global hunger are being improved through advances in mobile computing.

Hurricane Mitch was the genesis of Save the Children's involvement in the Humanitarian Empowerment and Response through Technology (HEART) program, sponsored by Microsoft. HEART's goal is to use the convenience and power of mobile computing to improve the efficiency of disaster relief. With the help of a cash and software grant, Save the Children worked with Microsoft employee volunteers to create a software tool for small, handheld devices that would enable them to quickly target desperately needed supplies such as food, water, medicine and shelter for disaster-struck regions.

To assess the technology's effectiveness, the University of Wisconsin developed a computer simulation of a catastrophic hurricane raging through the Pacific coastal villages of Nicaragua, causing massive flooding, burying entire villages, destroying roads and bridges, and leaving thousands missing or dead. Using advanced handheld computing technology, Save the Children was able to deliver a complete assessment of both the damage and resource needs in little more than eight hours.

In the days before the simulation, Save the Children's staff worked with community volunteers in Nicaragua to collect baseline information on food, water, health, education and shelter resources. By combining this information with data collected during the simulated hurricane, Save the Children was able to determine quickly where and what kind of help was needed most.

After this successful field trial in Nicaragua, Save the Children plans to roll out the mobile device technology worldwide and share it with other agencies. For example, in order to deliver feeding programs more effectively in Haitian schools, a version is being adopted by the World Food Programme, the United Nations frontline agency in the fight against global hunger.

A key element of the HEART program is working to ensure that nonprofit and government agencies involved in disaster relief share information about these new technology solutions.

In one quake-prone Central American country, for example, a number of nonprofit groups are working to provide homes—built to withstand strong earthquakes—for nearly 1.5 million people. Currently, disaster relief workers in the field must use paper and pen to complete several forms to approve housing beneficiaries, and then transfer the data to a computer. Incorporating handheld computers will reduce the amount of time and duplication significantly, thereby increasing the number of people eligible for assistance.

Just as mobile devices have enabled businesses to become more efficient and productive, these handheld computers are helping nonprofits to better meet the needs of the communities they serve. The added benefit is that the savings are measured in lives as well as dollars.

One in a series of essays on technology and society. More information is available at microsoft.com/issues.

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THE WEEK

■ The Council on American-Islamic Relations is organizing a pro-Palestinian rally in Washington. They already have the State Department, don't they?

■ Sweating through his shirt and at times shouting, Al Gore pounded the Bush administration again and again in a speech to Democrats in Florida. In a play on nearby Disney World, Gore said, "We're the party of Main Street USA. They're the party of the Pirates of Enron." Republicans are for "special interests" and the "well-heeled," Democrats for "the little guy." The people vs. the powerful is still his theme, and it is still premised on a cartoonish and slightly paranoid view of the world. In its strong form, this view leads to the lunacy of a Cynthia McKinney; in its weak form, it is merely false to the experience of American life. The audience roared its approval, which may be a problem for Gore's party. Most voters, even Democratic voters, tell pollsters they are tired of him, and the party establishment scorns him as a loser. But party workers love the man. Gore isn't the only Democratic politician who ought to be sweating.

■ For 30 years, the Catholic archdiocese of Boston knew that Fr. Paul Shanley was an unrepentant pederast and that he had admitted to molesting boys. The response of the church hierarchy was to shuffle him through ministries, sometimes lying to the church authorities to whom they transferred him. This revelation comes three months after we found out that the archdiocese acted similarly with respect to another pedophile rapist, Fr. Thomas Geoghan. Bernard Cardinal Law, the archbishop of Boston since 1984, has acknowledged that he erred in not taking the conduct of these priests more seriously. What he has not acknowledged is that the only way to do justice to the magnitude of his dereliction is to resign. Cardinal Law no longer has the credibility to be a moral and spiritual leader for his people. It is a great sadness, but if he does not face it his error of judgment will only be compounded.

■ Congressman Jim Traficant, Ohio Democrat, was convicted of ten counts of racketeering, bribery, and fraud. Democratic leaders have called for his ouster, but Republicans have been more cautious, reflecting their tacit alliance with Traficant in recent years. Traficant said he would vote to keep Republicans in power in the House if necessary, so Republicans pretended he wasn't a crook. A dispiriting spectacle, now brought, one hopes, to an end, thanks to a solid prosecution.

■ A marijuana-legalization group has been running ads in New York City, playing off a quip by mayoral prospect Michael Bloomberg that he smoked pot—"and I enjoyed it." After the ads first appeared, Mayor Bloomberg exhaled, saying "we should enforce the laws, and I do not think decriminalizing marijuana is a good idea." So the mayor is in favor of maintaining a law which the intelligently hip and, of course, the rich flout with next to no risk, while the less savvy and the less prosperous can and do get nailed. Conscientious politicians should enforce the laws, but they should also seek to change capricious, inequitable, and needless ones.

■ Shortly after an appeals court declared Ohio's 80-year-old ban on concealed weapons to be unconstitutional, state representative Edward Jerse, a Democrat, fumed: "We have an unacceptable level of violence in our society. We have got to change our culture. And you don't do that by throwing up your hands and saying, 'Okay, everybody get a gun.'" We quite agree—it's not at all necessary for *everybody* to get a gun. Concealed-carry has been shown to lower the frequency of murder by 8.5 percent, of rape by 5 percent, and of aggravated assault by 7 percent; as John Lott has noted, it works as a deterrent precisely because "cab drivers and drug dealers who carry guns produce a benefit for cab drivers and drug dealers without guns . . . homeowners who defend themselves make burglars generally wary of breaking into homes." Criminals have long known that they are worse off with victims who *might* be armed than with victims who definitely aren't. With 43 states now permitting concealed-carry, the law is finally catching up.

■ Saudi Arabia's Crown Prince Abdullah is heading to Crawford for a meeting with President Bush. Prediction: Abdullah won't come away with a presidential nickname. Crawford is an inappropriate place for the meeting, since the president should reserve his Texas getaway spot for real chums, such as Tony Blair and Vladimir Putin, rather than share it with Arab dictators with whom we are forced by circumstances to maintain correct relations. Bush should not shrink from making Abdullah uncomfortable, despite the homey surroundings: Why hasn't Saudi Arabia followed through on its "peace plan" with a full-throated condemnation of suicide bombings? Why are its fingerprints all over the radical Islamic network in the U.S.? Why is it obstructing a goal—toppling Saddam Hussein—that we consider a strategic imperative? If Abdullah has satisfactory answers, then maybe he can join Bush for some relaxing brush-clearing. Otherwise, the sooner he gets back to Riyadh, and its religious police and murderous anti-Israel vitriol, the better.

■ When Prime Minister Ariel Sharon recently addressed the Knesset, he was heckled by Arab parliamentarians. This shows the political and cultural divide of the Middle East, for

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in the parliaments of Syria, Iraq, and Yemen, the Jewish politicians who represent the ancient Jewish communities of those societies feel too intimidated to criticize the government. Before the humor-challenged write in, we know that the second half of the foregoing is a joke: Syria, Iraq, and Yemen have neither real parliaments nor Jews. Very funny—unless you happen to be an Arab living under a dictatorship, or an Israeli, hammered by a double standard that is so pervasive that it usually goes unrecognized.

■ In the first week of April, we heard a lot about the "two girls," Ayat al-Akhras and Rachel Levy. The *New York Times* headline said, "2 Girls, Divided by War, Joined in Carnage." The article described a suicide bomber, al-Akhras, and one of her victims, Rachel Levy. Went the story, "Two high school seniors in jeans with flowing black hair, the teenage girls walked next to each other up to the entrance of a Jerusalem supermarket last Friday. . . . The vastly different trajectories of their lives intersected for one deadly moment, mirroring the intimate conflict of their two peoples." Even President Bush got into the act, saying, "When an 18-year-old Palestinian girl is induced to blow herself up and in the process kills a 17-year-old Israeli girl, the future itself is dying, the future of the Palestinian people and the future of the Israeli people." Yes, yes, all very nice and poetic. But the main thing to know about Ayat al-Akhras and Rachel Levy is that they were "joined in carnage" because *the one decided to kill the other.* Or whatever Jew was handy.

■ Lynne Stewart is a radical lawyer universally described in the press as "grandmotherly." Translated, this means she has the appearance and charm of a cement garden gnome. For years she defended mobsters and drug dealers to keep herself afloat, and radicals to advance the cause. Her most poisonous client was David Gilbert, one of the Weather Underground participants in the 1981 Brinks robbery that killed two cops and a security guard. But in the mid '90s she branched out, taking on Sheikh Omar Abdel Rahman, the Egyptian immigrant cleric convicted in 1995 of conspiring to blow up the World Trade Towers, the United Nations, and the Holland and Lincoln tunnels, among other targets. The terms of Rahman's imprisonment prevent him from communicating with the outside world on any topic but self-defense. Ms. Stewart has now been charged with asking distracting legal questions to cover Arabic conversations between Rahman and his translator. The sheikh was passing directions to his Egyptian followers (specifically, to resume murdering Western tourists). Maybe she can hire Johnnie Cochran.

■ Tom Paulin, a British poet, an Oxford University lecturer, and a well-known commentator on the arts for the BBC, has hit upon a final solution for Israel and its Jews. In an interview with the official Egyptian newspaper *Al-Ahram*, he says that Israel has no right to exist at all. He particularly singles out American-born Jews for "special treatment," explaining that "they should be shot dead. I think they are Nazis, racists. I feel nothing but hatred for them." Who says poetry is only for the sentimental?

■ The International Criminal Court became a reality at U.N. headquarters in New York when ten nations presented their instruments of ratification, bringing the total number of countries approving it to over 60. The ICC will claim jurisdiction over individuals who are accused of committing war crimes and other crimes against humanity. But who will be the judges? Western democracies like Canada and France support the ICC. But so do dictatorships like Nigeria and Tajikistan. Who guards the guardians? The ICC's judges will be the final arbiters of their own authority. Defining crimes against humanity seems like a straightforward task, but they are interpreted very differently depending on one's passions and interests, as the disputes over what constitutes terrorism in the Middle East show. For these reasons, the United States has not joined the ICC. (The Clinton administration signed the enabling treaty in December 2000, leaving it to the Bush administration to submit to the Senate, which it did not.) The only even partially reliable nexus of justice in the modern world has been the just nation-state, and there have been few enough of those. Empowering supranational judges to rule on claims, some of which will be malicious and capricious, will advance neither justice nor peace.

■ The Castro regime in Havana howled that the U.S. violated the Vienna Convention. What'd we do, try to liberate the island again? Well, sort of: The U.S. mission handed out about 500 radios to Cubans. This, the regime denounced as "subversive," which in a way it was: Castro regards any independent rustle as a great threat. Which reminds us: The *New York Times* had an editorial on April 4 entitled "Latin America's Muzzled Press." What a wonderful subject! The editorial covered Colombia, Venezuela, Peru, and even Haiti (where they don't speak a lot of Spanish). Hey, isn't there another Caribbean country—Spanish-speaking—where a free press is not only "muzzled" but pulverized?

■ A deaf lesbian couple, convinced that deafness is not a disability and eager to have a deaf child, found a deaf sperm donor to improve their odds. Were they wrong to do so? Leave aside their lesbianism, since the same question could arise with a married deaf couple. Parents can want all kinds of things for their children—that they be sweet-natured, that they go to their mother's alma mater, that they not be lesbians. But those desires must be subordinated to the understanding that children are not mere means to parents' ends. Those desires must also be for good, or at least indifferent, things—it would be wicked to wish that a child would be missing a limb or a conscience. Or a faculty. To be able to hear is better than not to be able to hear, and parents who think otherwise are suffering from a delusion that should not be inflicted on children.

■ Last August, three graduate students at Yale released a report accusing the university of honoring pro-slavery alumni and, in the past, fostering pro-slavery thought. The *New York Times* ran a fawning article about the students; reparationists at Yale and in New Haven licked their chops in antic-

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Preventing Future Enrons

ıce Bueno de Mesquita is a senior fellow at the Hoover Institution.

Harry Roundell is 'resident of Decision Insights, Inc.

How corporations are managed, not who manages them, is the cause of business fraud. The public, the president, and the media focus on the venality of a handful of executives at Enron as the explanation for that company's collapse. Certainly anyone found guilty of violating the law should be punished, but bringing those individuals to justice alone will not stymie future fraud any more than bringing Osama bin Laden to justice will end terrorism. **We need to address the causes, not just the symptoms, of fraud.** Fraud never arises simply because of greed; it arises because some corporate governance arrangements give executives incentives to misreport performance in hopes of saving their company's reputation.

Research shows that the chances that a company will commit fraud can be predicted two years in advance. An accounting-fraud analysis, for instance, correctly predicted that Sunbeam, Rite Aid, Cendant, Informix, and Medaphis—to mention just a few cases—were at the highest risk of alleged fraud. It also identified Enron as a high-risk company in the mid-1990s. Of the 4 percent of firms classified as highest risk, 54 percent have subsequently been accused of fraud; that number jumps to 67 percent if a firm reached the highest risk classification more than once.

The fraud classification system relies on publicly available information, focusing on the incentives directors have to engage in oversight. It can help protect shareholders from fraud and enable boards of directors to restructure firms so that executives have the right performance incentives. Every company is organized around a controlling group that determines policies regarding the allocation of resources and the selection and retention of executives. The power of this group is used to predict leadership's actions.

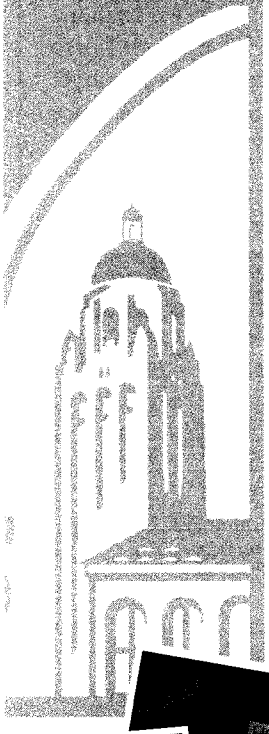
Companies offer two basic categories of rewards: those that benefit shareholders and those that benefit select groups involved with the company. The mix of benefits offered in these two categories—shareholder benefits and insider benefits—makes the risk of fraud predictable.

The mix in senior management's compensation between rewards tied directly to performance (e.g., stock options) and personal rewards tied to its role in the company (e.g., personal salaries) influences its performance on behalf of shareholders. Likewise, the number of people involved in the day-to-day administration of a company influences the extent to which those individuals identify with the management team or with shareholder goals. Generally, the greater the focus on insider benefits to senior management, the higher the risk of fraud; the greater the political clout of senior management relative to external directors, the higher the risk of fraud; and the greater the commitment to stock options and benefits that encourage a long-term view, oversight, and balance between the influence of management and the board of directors, the lower the risk of fraud.

When auditors review governance structures and books, and are encouraged to consult with their clients about problems in the incentive structures, we will have come a long way toward eliminating fraud. Confidence in business requires that we move in these directions rather than putting our energies into finding greedy individuals to blame for what are manifestly corporate governance problems.

— Bruce Bueno de Mesquita and Harry Roundell

Paid for by the Hoover Institution, Stanford University.



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ipation of an imminent university shakedown. Now *The Yale Standard*, a campus Christian publication, has released a counter-report documenting the historical errors and ideological distortions of the original report. The *Standard*'s article vindicates the men tarred by the graduate students and provides ample evidence for what anyone knowledgeable about the abolitionist movement knows: that schools like Yale and Harvard were hotbeds of abolitionist thought and produced the Christian ministers and other public men whose sermons and writings turned public opinion against slavery. Apparently this is not the sort of knowledge that doctoral students in history and American Studies, like the three authors of the original report, are expected to possess these days.

■ Bryant Gumbel announced that he's going to quit while he's behind. The host of *The Early Show* on CBS never managed to drag the show out of a distant third among the morning shows. Receiving less than half of the salary of his former *Today Show* partner, Katie Couric, and about half of her ratings, Gumbel was not due for a raise. Perhaps the charm conservatives never saw finally wore off. This was the man, after all, who said, "What a f***ing idiot!" about an opponent of gay Scoutmasters—live on air. Perhaps people just grew tired of his unrelenting asides about "Reagan greed." Or perhaps Gumbel is being refreshingly honest when he says, "It was not a competitive or economic decision. I just want to enjoy my life." We want to enjoy ours as well, so it's a win-win decision.

■ Maureen Dowd is scandalized. It appears that President Bush uses pollsters. Even though he said presidents should lead rather than follow polls. Well, actually, it turns out that Bush doesn't use polls to figure out where he stands. He uses them to figure out how to sell those policies to the public.

Aid that Aids

AFTER months of intense lobbying by the left-wing foreign-aid establishment, President Bush has agreed to substantially increase U.S. taxpayer funding for the International Monetary Fund, the U.S. Agency for International Development, and other failed foreign-aid programs. (On the bright side, the administration has at least added a new requirement: Governments must pursue free-market policies to qualify for the welfare checks.)

But foreign aid is largely irrelevant to economic development in Third World nations. In the past 50 years, it has proven mostly a hindrance to economic growth, because the social workers who administer the aid programs tend to be hostile to the very capitalistic reforms that spur economic and social progress. One need only investigate the most recent high-profile foreign-aid flop: the IMF's involvement in Argentina. That IMF "aid," funded mostly with U.S. taxpayer dollars, has contributed to a depression in Argentina (and to the rise of a fierce anti-Americanism in that once-prosperous nation).

While the corrupt foreign-aid regime has been busy enriching itself, capitalism has been increasing global living standards. The Cato Institute's most recent annual Economic Freedom Index reported that "the free market is winning out over centralized planning": Tax rates are being ratcheted downward (Russia, for example, now has a 13 percent flat tax); trade is freer; governments are gradually selling off state-owned enterprises; monetary policies are more stable. The progress is often excruciatingly slow, but there's movement in the right direction. And this move toward capitalism has made the world better off: The Cato Institute study, by professors James Gwartney and Robert Lawson, found that the per capita income of the freest nations is $18,000, while that of the least free nations is about $1,600, less than one-tenth as much.

Phil Harvey of the Washington, D.C.-based Global Liberty Project has found another statistical benefit of capitalism: The freer a nation is, the healthier its population. As the chart shows, people living in the free nations have substantially longer life spans (*by 21 years*) than do citizens of nations that impose restrictions on individual freedom. This relationship holds even when we examine pairs of countries that are culturally similar. South Korea today has a life expectancy more than a decade longer than North Korea's. Taiwan has longer life expectancy than China—although China's life expectancy is soaring as it makes the transition to capitalism.

FREE COUNTRIES ARE HEALTHIER AND WEALTHIER

Economic Freedom Index	Per Capita Income	Life Expectancy
	PER CAP.	LIFE EXP.
Free Nations	$18,108	76
Mostly Free Nations	$10,595	73
Nations with Limited Freedom	$3,440	60
Repressed Nations	$1,670	55

Source: James Gwartney and Robert Lawson, *Economic Freedom of the World, 2000*; World Bank, *1999 World Development Indicators*.

Taken together, all these findings suggest that the Bush administration's latest effort to reform the foreign-aid system is well intentioned but wrongheaded. Third World nations don't need to be bribed to do what is in their economic interest. If we really want to help these nations, let us stock their libraries with Milton Friedman, F. A. Hayek, and Adam Smith. Rather than export tax dollars around the globe, it is far better for the United States to export freedom and free markets—and best to start by practicing what we preach.

—STEPHEN MOORE

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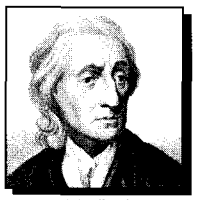
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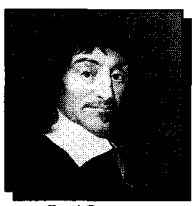
René Descartes

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He is author or editor of more than 40 books, including *Wild Beasts & Idle Humours: The Insanity Defense from Antiquity to the Present* (Harvard 1996), *An Intellectual History of Psychology* (3rd edition, Wisconsin, 1995), *The Mind: An Oxford Reader* (Oxford, 1998) *and Aristotle's Psychology* (Columbia, 1989).

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This, for Dowd, is even more scandalous. The president is hypocritically delivering on his campaign promise, or something. Clinton's polling, by contrast, was "democratic," because he did, in fact, base his policies on it. Bush's polling is "autocratic" because he "wants to do what he (or Cheney & Rove) wants to do—and is desperate only to find a way to shove it down our throats." So, to sum up, Bush should be coming up with policies based on the views of somebody besides himself and his advisers, and then use the most unappealing language to promote them as possible. He promised that during the campaign, didn't he? Well, maybe not. Whatever. There's a scandal in here somewhere.

■ Professor Cornel West is leaving Harvard University for Princeton. Another member of Harvard's Afro-American Studies Department, Henry Louis Gates Jr., is also said to be ready to leave for Princeton. Gates has called West's defection "devastating for Harvard." So it seems, no doubt, from within the precious little world of "Afro-American studies," but is it really so? The rest of us—along, we suspect, with those members of the Harvard faculty engaged in teaching and research in genuine academic disciplines—quietly recall one of the lessons of high-school algebra: that the subtraction of a negative makes for a net gain.

■ As part of this year's commencement exercises, Michigan State University will be holding its first "Black Celebratory," a separate graduation ceremony for black students. Sponsors have hurried to explain that blacks are welcome to attend both ceremonies; the "Celebratory" is merely intended—in the words of assistant provost and vice president for student affairs Lee June—"to reinforce, congratulate and give special recognition for the accomplishment they've made, given that they are students of color." But will the drinking fountains be clearly labeled?]

■ Congresswoman Cynthia McKinney, Georgia Democrat, told a Berkeley radio station that the Bush administration knew beforehand that the September 11 attacks were coming, and did "not warn the innocent people of New York who were needlessly murdered" because "persons close to this administration are poised to make huge profits off America's new war." She has subsequently explained that she is not "aware of any evidence showing that President Bush or members of his administration have personally profited from the attacks. . . . A complete investigation might reveal that to be the case." Laugh if you will, but such views are accepted as true, or at least plausible, by all too many of Rep. McKinney's fellow black Americans. The political culture of black America is almost as paranoid as that of the Mideast. It chokes on memory: Because the government has oppressed blacks in the past, it is spreading AIDS, or drugs, to them today. As long as the war on terrorism may be, this pathology will outlast it.

■ On his radio show in New York, Al Sharpton is now being introduced as "The Honorable Reverend Doctor Al Sharpton." His spokeswoman explained that the "Doctor" came from an honorary degree Sharpton received two years ago from the A. P. Clay Bible College in Baton Rouge. The "Honorable" is there because Sharpton is head of the "National Action Network," which is "a position of honor to people in the community." The "Reverend"? Who knows? We cannot improve on the *Saturday Night Live* commentator who said, "No matter how many names he piles up, if the last two are 'Al Sharpton,' he's not foolin' anybody."

■ In this day of Sacajawea coins and Frida Kahlo stamps, it's a pleasant surprise to learn that someone other than Sally Hemings is the subject of a new national memorial close to Thomas Jefferson's on the Mall. It's a total surprise to learn that the honor has gone to George Mason, a Virginian who owned slaves. Mason deserves to be remembered: He wrote the Virginia Declaration of Rights, which became a model for the Declaration of Independence; he spoke forcefully against slavery at the Constitutional Convention; and he was a champion of liberties that became encoded in the Bill of Rights. His memorial is a worthy addition to the Mall, and will help ensure that Americans remember a forgotten Founder the way Jefferson himself did: "This was George Mason, a man of the first order of wisdom among those who acted on the theater of the revolution, of expansive mind, profound judgment, cogent in argument."

■ Former Supreme Court justice Byron White, a Kennedy appointee, died at age 84. Democrats paid their respects, but it's worth noting that they would never confirm a Byron

A PEACEMAKER AND HIS UMBRELLA

Colin Powell & riotous friend

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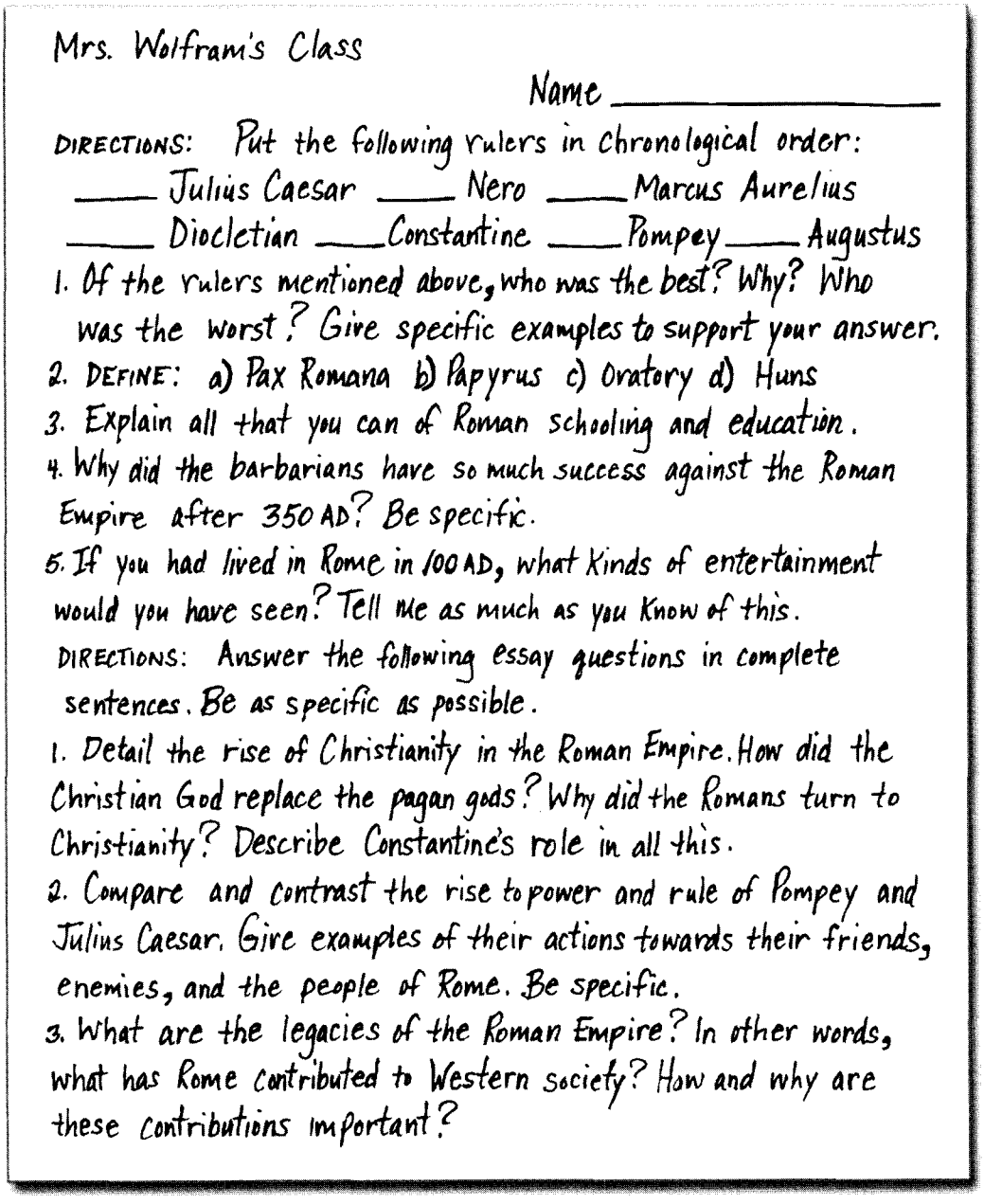

Mrs. Wolfram's Class

Name _____

DIRECTIONS: Put the following rulers in chronological order:

_____ Julius Caesar _____ Nero _____ Marcus Aurelius

_____ Diocletian _____ Constantine _____ Pompey _____ Augustus

1. Of the rulers mentioned above, who was the best? Why? Who was the worst? Give specific examples to support your answer.
2. DEFINE: a) Pax Romana b) Papyrus c) Oratory d) Huns
3. Explain all that you can of Roman schooling and education.
4. Why did the barbarians have so much success against the Roman Empire after 350 AD? Be specific.
5. If you had lived in Rome in 100 AD, what kinds of entertainment would you have seen? Tell me as much as you know of this.

DIRECTIONS: Answer the following essay questions in complete sentences. Be as specific as possible.

1. Detail the rise of Christianity in the Roman Empire. How did the Christian God replace the pagan gods? Why did the Romans turn to Christianity? Describe Constantine's role in all this.
2. Compare and contrast the rise to power and rule of Pompey and Julius Caesar. Give examples of their actions towards their friends, enemies, and the people of Rome. Be specific.
3. What are the legacies of the Roman Empire? In other words, what has Rome contributed to Western society? How and why are these contributions important?

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White today. Increasingly, Democrats take the position that any nominee to a high federal court must swear fealty to *Roe* v. *Wade*, and White dissented from *Roe* ("an exercise in raw judicial power") and its successors. R. I. P.

MIDDLE EAST

Lost

THE idea that the Bush administration should restrain Israel from a full-frontal war on Palestinian terrorism has always been defensible as a theoretical matter. If it would actually buy Arab support for eventual action against Iraq, it would be a worthwhile tactical move in furtherance of an important strategic goal. Yes, it would be inconsistent (preventing Israel from acting on the Bush Doctrine the way the U.S. has), but high state policy sometimes is.

The Bush administration's three-week foray into peace-processing, however, has only made the prospect of an Iraqi invasion seem all the more distant. The administration has leaked away prestige and credibility with nearly every new statement, and has bent to the logic of the Arab world, which is that nothing can ever be done in the Middle East without bullying Israel first. It is exactly this linkage that the first Bush administration successfully resisted in the run-up to the Persian Gulf War. If it had not, Saddam Hussein would still be in Kuwait City—or maybe Riyadh—today.

So there has been no tactical up-side to countervail the considerable disadvantages of Bush's position: The administration has retroactively vindicated the critics who maintained that the Bush Doctrine was too "simple-minded." It has tried to prevent Israel from killing and arresting terrorists. It has established that Arab street protests can alter American policy. It has deliberately ignored evidence of Saudi complicity in stoking suicide bombings, in order to puff up the Saudi "peace plan." It has seemed adrift, confused, and weak, emboldening Democratic foes who wouldn't have been so critical even on domestic matters three weeks ago. In other words, the Bush policy has been a disaster, and it can't be laid at the feet of anyone—including Colin Powell—but the president himself.

During the fight in Afghanistan, pundits argued that any president would have carried out the war there, that the immediate military reaction to Sept. 11 was in some sense inevitable. But nothing in politics is inevitable; it always depends on will and leadership. This is why it can't be taken as a given that the war on terrorism will be won. Indeed, on some days recently, it has been possible to imagine the unthinkable: that the war on terrorism might have already seen its greatest success and will gradually peter out in a series of far-flung military-advising missions (the Philippines, Georgia, etc.), while the main event—transforming the Middle East—founders on Arab opposition.

We continue to consider this prospect unthinkable because of the moral commitment and toughness of President Bush, who does not seem to have wavered in his determination to oust Saddam Hussein. One of Bush's best qualities is that he reverses mistakes quickly, and there are signs that, in this case, the reversing may have already begun. In a speech at the Virginia Military Institute, Bush repeated his "axis of evil" phrase, starkly demanded that Arab states end their incitement of suicide bombing, and—in a pregnant hint of things to come—said that the Taliban was "the first regime to fall in the war on terrorism." This is all encouraging.

But so far there has been only one definite bright spot in the Middle East over the last few weeks: the resounding victory that the Israeli Defense Force has won over the soldiers and terrorists of Fatah, Hamas, and Islamic Jihad. You don't have to sign off on every last detail of Ariel Sharon's ultimate vision for the West Bank or condone every tactic of the IDF (for instance, using Palestinian civilians as human shields) to recognize that in its fight against Palestinian terrorism, the Israelis are fighting another front in our war.

The connection between the two is unmistakable. Not only are the Iranians and the Iraqis—charter members of the axis of evil—arming and funding the Palestinians, the intifada seems to be a strategic ploy meant to distract the United States from taking on Iraq. This is why the administration loses in so many ways when it bows to the idea that it must resolve the Mideast crisis by pressuring Israel: It risks letting Iranian- and Iraqi-supported militants off the hook, diverts our attention from Iraq, and creates the incentive for yet more Palestinian violence—because the hotter the conflict burns, the more "engaged" the administration will have to be.

A sound policy in the region must begin with a fundamental fact: Israel, despite what "moderate" Arab states say, is not the problem in the Middle East. Instead, the region's violence and instability emanates chiefly from three major countries, which represent three distinct ideologies with which the United States is, broadly speaking, at war: the Baathist fascism of Iraq; the Shiite radicalism of Iran; and the Sunni radicalism of Saudi Arabia. All these regimes (along with Syria, Iraq's junior partner in Baathism) must be confronted, although in different ways.

Only Iraq is amenable to an immediate military solution. The U.S. has already partially dismembered the country and is formally still in a state of war against it. Ousting Saddam and replacing him with a pro-Western reformer will, in turn, make pressuring the other two countries easier: emboldening the reformers in Iran and lessening American dependence on the Saudis. American assertiveness in the region will also presumably make the Palestinians more responsive, since it will enhance U.S. prestige and constitute a blow to Arab radicalism generally. Victory in the Persian Gulf War, after all, set the predicate for the initially promising "peace process" that now lies in ruins.

But to move on Iraq, the administration needs a clean break from its current path. The Israeli-Palestinian dispute will not be soluble until Palestinian society as a whole eschews terrorism. Only then can the legitimate grievances of the Palestinians be usefully addressed. That may be a long process, possibly involving more Israeli incursions and the construction of a security perimeter until a new Palestinian

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politics arrives. There is no clever plan or negotiating gambit that the Bush administration can come up with to short-circuit this process—the real peace process.

Secretary Powell's mission can still be redeemed if the administration makes clear that Arafat, having been given innumerable last chances, has finally exhausted those chances. And that until the Palestinians create and support a respectable leadership, the U.S. will not expend political energy trying to save them from the disastrous consequences of their terrorism. If the administration takes this stance, the last three weeks will begin to seem only an unfortunate interlude in the broader war, and in fact may make it easier for the administration to make the case to the world that it tried its best to redeem the unredeemable Arafat. Then the U.S. can begin to concentrate again on a benefit to the region that it actually has the power to deliver—the fall of the Baathist regime in Iraq.

POLITICS

Sophomore Slump

EVEN the few defenders of the administration's Mideast zigzag admit that it looks like an incoherent response to each day's events. And it's not just abroad that the Bush administration appears to be adrift. In recent weeks, the president has handed down two protectionist decisions—on steel and softwood lumber—that hurt American consumers (including American businesses), justifiably angered our allies, and undermined the credibility of his free-trade rhetoric. He has signed a campaign-finance bill that he once (accurately) described as an affront to the Constitution. He has lost a confirmation battle over one of his judicial nominees, Charles Pickering, after engaging in the battle too late.

His first initiative this year was an expansion of AmeriCorps. After early indications that he might fight the bloated farm bill before Congress, Bush has thrown in the towel. After challenging the Senate to open the Alaskan National Wildlife Reserve for oil drilling, he refuses to promise Republican senators that he will veto an energy bill without that provision. It would not be surprising if Democratic versions of a prescription-drug bill and a patient's bill of rights passed this year. The president looks prepared to acquiesce in a bill on faith-based charities that fails to protect their freedom to hire in accordance with their consciences, a point on which the administration had previously insisted.

Part of the problem is that Bush is being reactive. His recent missteps have been reactions to campaigns by the media, domestic interest groups, the Arabs, and others. To arrest the drift, he needs to take control of his agenda. He also needs to be willing to issue vetoes. President Bush's father, by this point in his term, had already compiled a string of impressive vetoes. Eventually he even vetoed a campaign-finance bill he thought unconstitutional. But George W. Bush, though more conservative than his father, has vetoed nothing, and it is reducing his leverage on Capitol Hill. Last year, he was able to score a tactical victory on a patient's bill of rights by threatening a veto—over the opposition of some of his top advisers. This year, he will have to veto a bill, not just threaten a veto, to be credible.

President Bush has avoided vetoes for the same reason he has avoided confrontation generally: his desire to "change the tone in Washington." That emphasis has a way of dampening support for Bush's positions by making disputes turn on inside-the-Beltway sins against process. When the administration zings Tom Daschle, it's because he's an "obstructionist" rather than because he's a liberal.

There are, of course, some bright spots. President Bush has taken a strong and principled stand on cloning. He has stepped up the campaign to get his judges confirmed. He is calling for the tax cuts he passed last year to be made permanent. He has resolved to toughen the work requirements that have made welfare reform such a success. He has been bolder than congressional Republicans in calling for a market-driven reform of Social Security. But if he continues to drift, and especially if the war on terrorism appears to be stalled, conservatives may not turn out to vote in the midterm elections in the numbers Bush needs. And he will not make the mark on policy that he wants and deserves to make.

CLONING

A Necessary No

IN REITERATING his opposition to all human cloning, President Bush gave voice to concerns that are widely shared but not always fully articulated. "Life is a creation, not a commodity," he said. "Our children are gifts to be loved and protected, not products to be designed and manufactured. Allowing cloning would be taking a significant step toward a society in which human beings are grown for spare body parts, and children are engineered to custom specifications; and that's not acceptable." The president expressed his support for scientific advance, warning only that it must not come at the price of violating moral principles.

But many people, including many congressmen and 40 Nobel laureates, think that cloning for certain purposes is morally acceptable. They believe it should be permitted to create a human embryo through cloning and use it for scientific and medical purposes; the embryo would be destroyed in the process of this use rather than be implanted in a womb and allowed to continue its development through the fetal stage and into infancy. Supporters of this work think it could yield valuable information and life-saving therapies.

Advocates of "therapeutic cloning" sometimes speak as though it were different from "reproductive cloning," but it is in fact the same procedure. Only the intention (to let the cloned embryo develop or to destroy it) varies. The advocates also claim that allowing the destruction of cloned human embryos is merely an extension of existing American law, specifically *Roe* v. *Wade*. Those of us who regard that Supreme Court edict as illegitimate are not, of course, obligated in conscience to support policies that comport with it.

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But in truth, therapeutic cloning is more than an extension of *Roe*. The Court's abortion jurisprudence professes agnosticism about the status of embryonic and fetal life while asserting the priority of pregnant women's autonomy. In public opinion, this view is mirrored by those who think abortion is murder but favor its legality anyway. Whether or not this position is logically tenable—we obviously think it is not—an assertion that human embryos have no moral status whatsoever would go even further.

A human embryo, however created, is alive: It isn't dead, or inanimate. It's human: not a carrot. It is a complete human organism, a member of the human species, at an early stage of development. It is what each of us once was; nothing that is not a living human being becomes one. Is all that enough to make a human embryo worth protecting? Proponents of embryo-destroying research often suggest that a human being must also have mental functioning to be worth protecting. But this argument proves too much: What about infants? The retarded? The comatose? The sleeping? Drawing the line is impossible. But there is no need to draw a line: We can, if we want, protect all human beings in law.

But a ban on reproductive cloning alone would create, for the first time in American law, a class of human beings that it is a duty to destroy. That is a line we should not cross.

■ NOTES & ASIDES ■

■ Dear Mr. Buckley: In the March 11 issue, Mr. Gould B. Hagler Jr. posed a grammar question about Matthew 6:19 in the King James Version: ". . . where moth and rust doth corrupt . . ."

In defense of the many translators who created the KJV in the beginning of the 17th century, all of whom used Tyndale and Latin and Greek sources, here is a quote from the Vulgate to support those translators: *ubi aerugo et tinea demolitur* (where rust and moth demolishes); the Latin verb is third person singular (as is the Greek).

As further evidence relating to agreement, I quote from Ward Powers in his *Learn to Read the Greek New Testament:*

"Like a pronoun, a verb indicates a person . . . it agrees with the number of its subject. When a verb has a multiple subject, the number of the verb regularly agrees with the part of the subject which is nearest to the verb."

Thus, Mr. Buckley, the King James Version passes the test! Each copy of your NATIONAL REVIEW receives careful attention!

With best wishes,
(Fr.) Martin Hanhauser, OFM
St. Petersburg, Fla.

Dear Fr. Hanhauser: Thanks for the studious illumination. But isn't it easier to go the even-Homer-nods route on this, than to question the rule that plural subjects require a plural form of the verb?

Cordially, WFB

■ Dear Mr. Buckley: I was dismayed in the extreme to find that a mindless PCism (for lack of a better term) had crept into the hallowed pages of NR!

Specifically, in the Feb. 25 issue, Dave Shiflett uses the maddeningly annoying PC construction "fisher" in place of the time-honored and perfectly acceptable (at least to those of us who are not brain dead or liberal, an equivalent condition, I think) and much more euphonious "fisherman."

I hope never to see such liberal-inspired drivel in NR again. Pray, reassure me that it was a mistake. Otherwise, I cannot help feeling that the sun has been dimmed a notch or two because NR has succumbed.

Cordially,
John Chomis
Detroit, Mich.

Dear Mr. Chomis: You are very excitable today.

The *Oxford English Dictionary* lists the word "fisher" as the equivalent of "fisherman" dating back to 893 P.C.

Cordially, WFB

■ Dear Mr. Buckley: Concerning the question of proper salutations, raised in the March 25 issue:

I believe it is proper to address the junior senator from New York as the Honorable Hillary Clinton. The office she holds, however, is that of senator, and so she may be addressed as Senator Clinton.

"Reverend," as you well know, is a title, normally earned, conferred by a church and coincidental with licensing or ordination. It is similar to Senator Clinton or Major Smith. Most "reverends" fill an office called "pastor."

Therefore, to his parishoners, Rev. Born is, properly, Pastor Born, while to you and me, who do not know him or attend his church, he is still Rev. Born.

Of course, the downside of all this is that we have to endure Rev. Jackson et al.

Sincerely,
Rev. Ronald G. Burnsteel
(also Pastor and Major USMC Ret., but please, *not* Reverend Major)
Chino Valley, Ariz.

Dear Major Burnsteel: There are two schools, one holding that the word "reverend" can be used only as an adjective.

The dissenters say, as you do, that it isn't so, that the noun use is okay. But see, e.g., William and Mary Morris, *Dictionary of Contemporary Usage*: "Respect for the clergy and for the language dictate that *reverend* be used as an adjective only. When this happens, perhaps divinity students will be able to discard the doggerel verse long heard on divinity school campuses, 'You may call me pal, you may call me friend, / But please don't call me Reverend.' "

Cordially,

—WFB

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■ ON THE RIGHT SPECIAL ■

AN INTERVIEW WITH WILLIAM F. BUCKLEY JR.

April 1 was the 40th anniversary of WFB's column, On the Right. Our librarian advises that he has written 5,610 columns, which, measured in gross, adds up to 4.5 million words, the equivalent of 45 medium-sized books. We put a couple of questions to our old friend.

RICH LOWRY: *Whose idea was the column?*

WFB: It was Harry Elmlark's, a great character. I didn't meet him personally during the negotiations (he became a dear friend). He proposed one column per week. I said okay, but I wanted $75. How can I offer you $75? Harry—he was out of Damon Runyon and tightfisted—asked. He explained over the phone that syndicates get 50 percent of the revenue, and he could only pay me $75 if he had $150 of clients. We didn't make $150 for opening day, so in months ahead he repaid himself his (postponed) claim.

RL: *Were there other right-wing columnists at the time?*

WFB: George Sokolsky, preeminent, was dead. John Chamberlain (my valued friend and colleague and brilliant literary critic) took over his column for Hearst, but columns weren't his natural medium. Raymond Moley had a column in addition to his pieces for *Newsweek*. The great James Jackson Kilpatrick came around a few years later. And the preeminent George Will was 15 years or so down the line.

RL: *Why did you switch a few years ago from three times a week to two?*

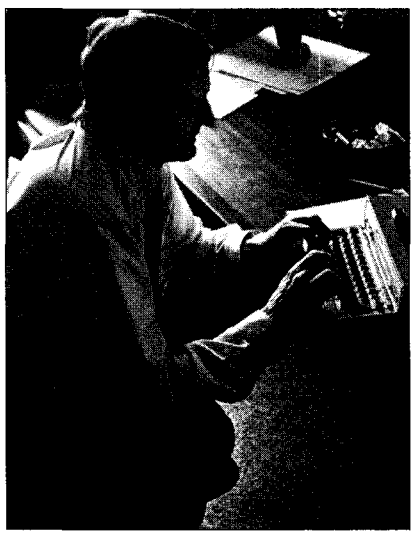
WFB: Because I gradually discovered that editors do not publish three submissions per week. Once upon a time that had been the case. When, after one year, I proposed going to twice a week, Harry said: No! Editors like three times or once, not twice.

RL: *Why?*

WFB: The culture, for many years, bespoke a running and quite intimate relationship between columnists and their readers. When papers bought a three-times-a-week columnist, they tended to run him three times per week. That constancy waned.

RL: *Were there peripheral advantages in this?*

WFB: Great ones, as far as the columnist was concerned. It meant that he could assume the readers had pretty much in mind antecedent columns that explained and developed the framework of the columnist's thoughts. It meant, also, that you could from time to time kick up your heels, be frivolous, light, offbeat. That's harder to do if you publish only once every week and feel



that your constituency is sitting there waiting to be told how to avoid a world war.

RL: *Do you ever experience direct results from a column, say on airline service?*

WFB: Yes, not often, but memorably. I complained in a column that Eastern Airlines was not serving passengers wine on flights to Miami. A couple of weeks later a huge basket of fruit and small wine bottles arrived with the note, "We surrender." In such situations one really feels the public benefactor.

RL: *Does the work of columnists get trimmed?*

WFB: Not in NATIONAL REVIEW . . . The protocol is: No cutting of a column except for space. Whether the rule is followed strictly is hard to oversee, because no one sees all his columns as published elsewhere. George Sokolsky was so fastidious on the subject, he wrote exactly 735 words, assuring editors that they could safely plan on staking out—whatever it comes to, 16 square inches?—reducing any temptation to cut.

RL: *When you were launched, did you feel any obligation to follow the conservative line?*

WFB: Following the conservative line wasn't an obligation, it was a congenital compulsion. My views as a columnist were like those of NATIONAL REVIEW. The column and the magazine followed, pretty generally, the same line. Amazing, the coincidences in life.

RL: *Does the column take long to write?*

WFB: No, but it takes a long time to assemble in the mind. The execution of it is an aspect of transcription. I write quickly, but I read slowly, a lifetime burden.

RL: *Did Elmlark earn back his forfeit?*

WFB: Indeed. A year or so after the column began, it was published in every major city in the United States (except Portland. Portland drove Harry mad). The life of a syndicate head who acted also as chief salesman was unusual, and one needs to understand that it is full-time. Four or five times every year Elmlark would drive his car from town to town and do everything he could to sell his clients. He told me once that he might find himself taking an editor out for an expensive meal (Harry hated to shell out money) and end up with a five-dollar sale. But, he said with relish, such editors usually stuck by a purchase for decades. "Five dollars a week, $2.50 for you, Bill, adds up after ten or fifteen years."

RL: *Well, Bill, congratulations on your 40th!*

WFB: Thanks, Rich. Maybe on the 50th you can pay me $75 an issue. I'll pay you half back.

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■ THE MIDDLE EAST ■

Israel on the Edge

Fighting despair, Arabs, and the enmity of the world

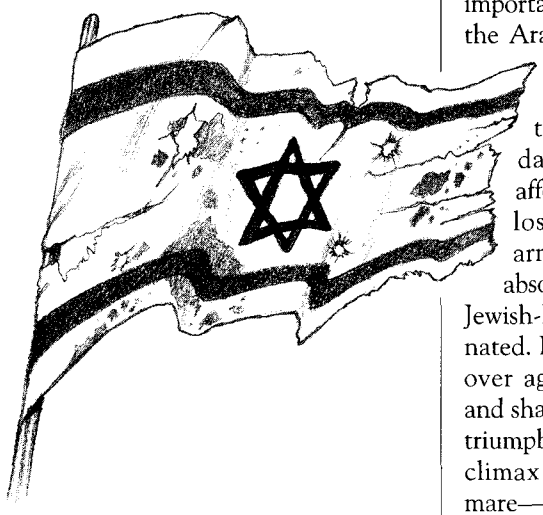
PAUL JOHNSON

In the current Arab-Israeli crisis, the Israelis appear to have forfeited the sympathy of much of the civilized world. Why is this? And what can Israel, and its allies, do about it?

Part of the explanation lies in the failure of Israel's once brilliantly efficient instrument of state to deliver. After half a century of embattlement with the Arab world, Israel has a tired and combat-weary look and seems to be asking, despairingly: "Where will it all end?"

Israel's case for its offensive against its neighboring terrorist enclaves is, in essence, excellent and unassailable. It is now clear that the Oslo accords were a mistake and have been used by Arafat—and his foreign backers—merely as a platform from which to launch indiscriminate suicide-bombing against Israel's cities. But this case has been poorly presented by officials who seem to have lost heart. At any rate it has not got through. When Colin Powell was in Israel, most of the horrifying facts presented to him by Ariel Sharon appeared to be news to him. And if Powell does not grasp the strength of Israel's case, how can millions of ordinary TV viewers across the world, who nightly see Israeli tanks trundling through Arab villages, be expected to understand why the Israeli army has had to conduct its campaign?

Second, there has been a manifest decline in the quality and energy of Israeli diplomacy, formerly one of the world's wonders. Israel's ambassadors in key capitals were hand-picked for outstanding ability and high profiles, with a superb grasp of English forensic skills. They seized with relish on the smallest chance to provide "bites" for television audiences. Now they tend to be second-raters with limited fluency in English.



By Ismael Roldan

Third, and more serious, is the decline in the morale and effectiveness of the Israeli army, the overwhelming victor in four trials of strength with the Arab world over the last 50 years. This decline has been noted both by well-disposed military experts from the West and by critical Israelis themselves. Operations are less well planned, troops often inadequately trained, and individual soldiers, most of them conscripts, poorly motivated. These factors lead to excessive use of heavy fire-power, needless killing of innocent civilians, and painful delays, all of which the TV cameras magnify.

These weaknesses on the Israeli side could be removed if the will were there. But is it? Israel has some of the characteristics of a gerontocracy, a state run by old men who have forgotten nothing and learned little in recent decades. It is a genuine democracy—none better—but its multiple-party system makes for a deadly paralysis at the top, where old men never seem to die, or fade away either. The man who tried to break this impasse, Benjamin Netanyahu, was eventually rejected by voters (who are highly conservative too), but they now seem to be having second thoughts and it may be that a return of Netanyahu to power would be the first decisive step in putting Israel to rights.

However, there are some factors in Israel's present predicament that are outside her control. Here are the most important. First, there is no symmetry in the Arab-Israeli conflict. If the Israelis score a military victory, or a diplomatic one for that matter, the Arabs live to fight another day. Israel, by contrast, cannot afford one serious mistake. If Israel lost control of the air, and her army were overrun, there can be absolutely no doubt that the entire Jewish-Israeli nation would be exterminated. It would be Hitler's holocaust all over again, conducted not in secrecy and shame but in the open, in a spirit of triumphant exultation as the successful climax of a jihad. This is the nightmare—not distant but proximate—that every Israeli prime minister must face and for which he will be held posthumously responsible if he guesses wrongly and fails to use the necessary force in time. By one wrong decision, an Israeli leader can not only lose the war in one afternoon, he can lose half the Jewish people too. This helps to explain why the Israeli elite are hag-ridden with anxiety, obstinate, and often closed to argument.

The lack of symmetry between the risks taken by Arabs and by Israelis is one result of a different view of the sanctity of human life. The Jewish faith was the first religion to preach this sanctity and to magnify the value of each individual human being in the eyes of his Creator—hence, equally, in other human beings. This is the main reason that Mosaic law differs so markedly in humanity and reason from all the other fiercely retributive codes of the ancient Near East. The value placed on human life by Jews has steadily increased over the centuries, as a response to persecution and, above all, to the Nazi attempt at extermination of the entire people. Israel itself was created as a refuge and

Mr. Johnson is a journalist and historian whose books include *A History of the Jews* and whose latest volumes are on the Renaissance and Napoleon.

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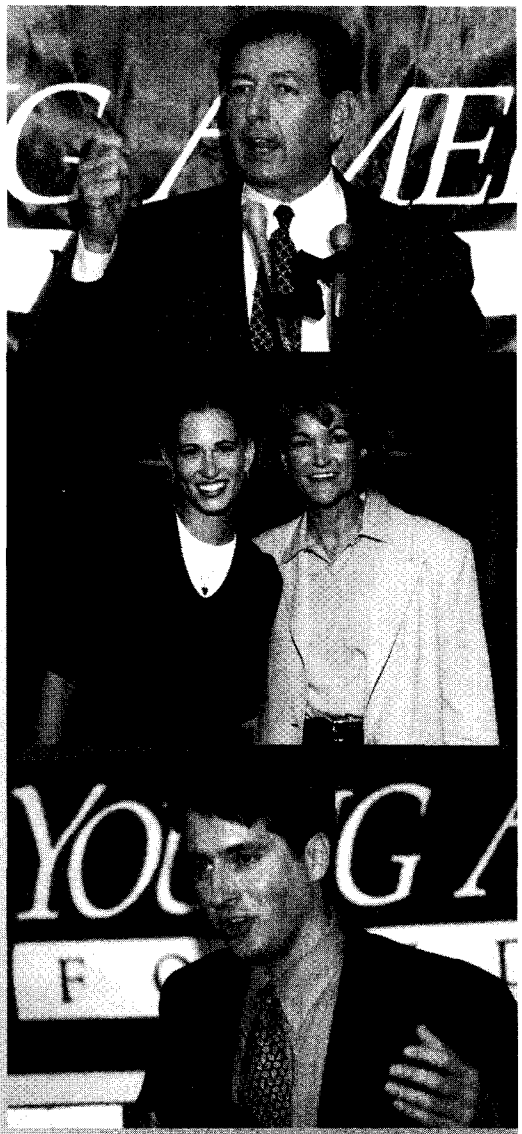

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fortress in which Jewish lives would be safe from annihilation. It is thus the physical embodiment of the principle that individual life is sacred.

By contrast, the Islamic-Arab concept of "the war of the martyrs" places no value on human life except as a sacrifice in the holy war. A warrior gains infinitely more by losing his life than by preserving it, for then he gains eternal life, and his status as a martyr is enhanced by the number of dead Israelis—"sons and daughters of Satan"—whom he takes with him.

It is very difficult for the Israelis to know how to straddle this complete lack of symmetry in warfare and to combat an enemy that has so few inhibitions about killing either opponents or its own people. There is, indeed, something Hitlerian about the implacable hatred Israel faces on its own borders. It should come as no surprise that Arabic translations both of *Mein Kampf* and of the *Protocols of the Elders of Zion*, that diabolic forgery, are best-sellers in the Arab world. We in the West would be well advised to appreciate the strength of the hatred the Israelis face, for it may soon be turned against us too. (We received a foretaste on September 11.)

However, for the moment, the world is unconscious of these deep underlying forces, and tends in its ignorance to see the Arab-Israel conflict as a war like any other, with the faults 50-50. From this perspective it is therefore the Israelis who appear to be guilty of a disproportionate use of force, an impression the nightly TV images seem to confirm.

Thus the Jews, not for the first time in their long and tragic history, are blamed for the persecution they suffer. Like the Israelis themselves, the world is tired of the endless antagonism of the Arabs and wishes that somehow or other the Jews and their state would simply fade away and allow everyone to have some rest. Thus, similarly, in wartime Germany, ordinary Germans, vaguely aware that countless thousands of Jews were being "sent east"—that euphemism employed for Destination Auschwitz—were furious at the rattling of vast trains of cattle-trucks packed with doomed Jews, which disturbed their rest throughout the night, and cursed "those damned Jews, never letting us get a decent night's sleep." **NR**

■ **THE MIDDLE EAST II** ■

Fantasy Time

What America thinks of Arabs, what Arabs think of it

DAVID PRYCE-JONES

PRESIDENT BUSH'S recent pronouncements on the Middle East and Secretary Powell's visit there no doubt reflected a well-intentioned attempt at peace-making. Lack of moral clarity, however, has brought to the surface fantasies rife in the Arab world. Caught up in the events of each day, the secretary of state has had to shift from one foot to the other and back again.

Israeli armor has closed in on Palestinian militants in Jenin and Nablus? This won't do, Powell had no choice but to say, the Israelis must end their operation "without delay" as President Bush decreed, or sometime soon, or anyhow as soon as possible. However couched, Powell's gnomic utterances publicly set him against Prime Minister Sharon. But next minute a photo-call shows him and Sharon together.

There's been another suicide bomber in Haifa, and yet another in Jerusalem? This won't do either, and Yasser Arafat must condemn terrorism, and in Arabic too, and Powell can't meet him on Saturday but only on Sunday. A superpower so easily tipped up and down on someone else's see-saw is not about to convince anyone that its declared war against terror is a serious proposition. This is not the way to conduct foreign policy.

Powell's visit arose from the cry that "something must be done" even if nobody knows quite what in this crisis. In cities including Beirut, Cairo, Amman, Sana (Yemen), and even Kuwait City and Bahrain's Manama, demonstrators in the thousands rally to the crudest anti-American and anti-Israeli slogans; they burn the Stars and Stripes and attempt to storm American embassies. The rulers one and all deploy secret police and security forces formidable enough to contain these demonstrations. But they exploit the emotion of the street to appeal in panicky tones to Washington. Here's a major contradiction running throug' the Arab world: On the one hand the United States is held to be responsible for everything that's wrong in the Middle East, while on the other hand it is beseeched to come to its salvation.

The outline of an Arab-Israeli peace settlement has been obvious since 1967, when Israel fought to survive a concerted attack by all its neighbors, and in the process occupied Gaza and the West Bank—or put another way, liberated these territories from their previous occupiers, Egypt and Jordan respectively. After 35 wearisome years, even blinkered Saudi Arabia has perceived the land-for-peace trade-off, whereby the Palestinian inhabitants form a state out of these territories and the Israelis receive a security guarantee in return. After 1967, David Ben-Gurion, always the statesman but then retired to rest on his laurels, said that the territories were a "poisoned cup." With benefit of hindsight, it was a failure of imagination not to act on his warning.

The Sixties were a moment when empire became bad by definition, and any national-liberation movement was correspondingly good. So right-thinking and even pacifist people came to support anyone with a claim to be a nationalist, no matter what the morality of the cause or the violence involved in its fulfillment. As leader of the Palestine Liberation Organization over three decades and more, Yasser Arafat has long been the beneficiary of that Sixties mindset.

Repeatedly opting for violence and repudiating diplomacy, Arafat has triggered civil wars in Lebanon and Jordan, and despatched murder squads to liners and airports and even to the Olympic Games, spreading terror everywhere within reach. During the 1991 Gulf War he backed Saddam Hussein, and he has lately been detected red-handed smuggling arms from Iran, his latest sponsor.

Mr. Pryce-Jones, an NR senior editor, is the author of *The Closed Circle: An Interpretation of the Arabs*, available from Ivan R. Dee.

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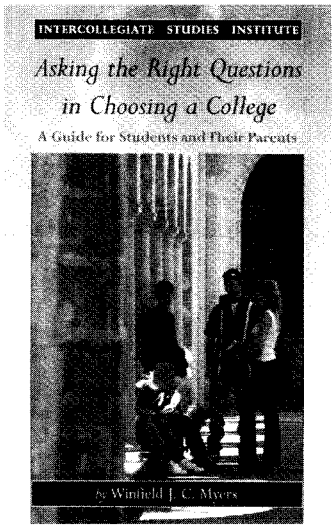
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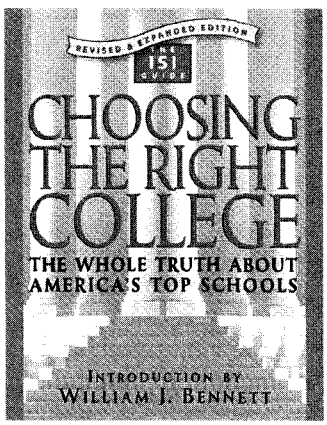
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A place for Arafat in the "axis of evil" has been well earned.

Time and again, Arafat has been exposed as politically bankrupt, expelled from Arab countries, exiled, reduced to a powerless figurehead. Invariably he has then appealed to the outside world to rescue him, and so far there has always been one power or another that imagines its interest to be to give him another chance, thus suspending the norm usual in human conduct that a man is responsible for his actions. The United Nations, the French, the British, the European Union, even the United States, have variously hastened to rescue him from predicaments of his own making. Getting others to do for him what he cannot do for himself, Arafat reveals escapologist genius. There has been nothing comparable on the world stage. Appeasement of such a man contains a weird blending of imperial guilt, the sentimental Third World liberationism of the Sixties, animus against Jews, and plain political incompetence. The recent aborted visit to Arafat in Ramallah by two European emissaries—EU foreign-policy chief Javier Solana and Spanish foreign minister Josep Pique—was an almost farcical illustration of the wish to relieve Arafat of responsibility for what he has done. Powell ran the unnecessary risk of putting himself in the same position.

In Arab society as presently constituted, whoever aspires to power cannot flinch from careerist crime. In the repetitive resort to violence, Arafat is no different from the Assads and the Saddams around him, except in scale; he is a pocket-tyrant. In the last decade, diplomacy had every prospect of bringing peace with Israel and laying the foundations of the state of Palestine. Arafat rejected this. It is his doing that the Palestinian cause is lost by default. Instead he has presided over a mafia of gunmen, for whom terrorism has been a profitable way of life, complete with fortunes stolen from the public purse.

Perhaps Palestinians continue to have faith in Arafat, as polls indicate. But perhaps inwardly they know that he has led them into a series of dead-ends, and they can do nothing about it except console themselves as best they can. They are encouraged by Arafat and the Muslim extremists of Hamas and Islamic Jihad to believe that more violence will in the end pay off. In the popular local stereotype, Jews are despicable cowards who will run away sooner than fight for their lives. As Israeli armor was encircling Nablus, CNN found a Palestinian who maintained that more suicide bombers would persuade Sharon to turn back and end the occupation. Needless to say, the CNN reporter did not point out that the tanks were there in the first place in response to suicide bombers. More bombers could only attract more tanks. On to Jerusalem, Arafat cries in defiance of reason. Promising that everyone including himself will be a martyr, he contradictorily fantasizes that soon the Palestinian flag will be flying on every synagogue and church.

■

There has always been one power or another that imagines its interest to be to give Arafat another chance.

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For two centuries during the Middle Ages, Christian Crusaders occupied what was to them the Holy Land. Muslims under the famous Saladin forced them out. Celebrating this victory, an Arab chronicler of the day wrote, "God grant that they never set foot there again." It is a matter of conviction among many Palestinian and other Arabs that the historic analogy holds good, and the Jews can be put to flight in their turn.

Which raises the question: If the Jews are cowardly and doomed, how come they win the battles? They don't, according to another generalized fantasy: The United States does it for them. In the Arab world, Israel is widely perceived as a state without true sovereignty, the "Zionist entity," a puppet on strings, an outpost of the American empire whose express (but inexplicable) purpose is to deny Arabs their place in the sun. An unholy conspiracy is supposed to be operating, whereby Jews are at the service of the United States. This is not so different from the figment promoted by the Nazis that Jews were at the service of revolutionary Bolshevism, or

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the corresponding Communist figment that Jews were at the service of capitalism. The common element is that Jews have no will of their own, and couldn't survive except by deceiving others into protecting them.

President Bush at first seemed to confirm this illusion, giving orders to Israel to do as it was told, as befits the master addressing his lackey. But then Sharon disobeyed, instead continuing the military incursion on the West Bank. This is something he surely would never have dared to do without Bush's prior consent, goes the thinking. What more evidence of conspiracy is needed?

Living in the real world, Sharon had no other choice except to do as he did, however painful, and no matter what the outside world might think. No imagination is now required to see that Palestinians will have the state they deserve the moment they abandon terror. But the Powell visit and its lack of moral clarity has delayed that moment, encouraging the fantasy that the attack on Tel Aviv goes through Washington. **NR**

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■ **PUBLIC POLICY** ■

Enron's Bastard Children

Oh, what legislation you have spawned!

RAMESH PONNURU

As a political scandal, Enron has fizzled out. Democrats know that the story is not going to dominate the midterm elections and are searching for other clubs with which to hit the Bush administration. So the scandal won't hurt Republicans. It could still, however, damage the economy and Americans' liberties.

That's because Enron has inspired, or is being used to justify, quite a few bills in Congress. The near-universal assumption in Washington has been that the Enron debacle proves that policy changes are necessary. While some changes might indeed be worthwhile, let's not forget that the system has actually worked pretty well. The market detected that the company was cooking the books and drove it to bankruptcy, and then the media and government came in to administer the requisite public censure and prosecution. Some employees and investors lost their shirts, which is sad, but such things happen all the time.

Could a system be designed that would prevent any company from ever cooking its books for any length of time? It's hard to see how, at least at a reasonable cost. Even under the wisest policies, we are occasionally going to have some Enrons—especially in the late stages of booms, when lenders and investors have grown careless. Getting burned by Enrons will then make everyone more cautious.

Few in Congress think this way, of course. And there has been no interest in policies that might actually improve corporate governance, like ending the tax code's bias against dividends, which has weakened their ability to serve as a signal that a company's earnings are real.

The bills that are being considered have three things in common. First, they are presented as "reforms" that would "prevent future Enrons." Second, they are in fact only tangentially related to Enron's actual abuses. Third, they are, on the merits, bad ideas.

Already, Enron hysteria has led to the passage of one regulatory bill: the McCain-Feingold campaign-finance "reform." Although legislators constantly invoked the alleged "lessons of Enron" during the debate over the bill, it would have done nothing to prevent Enron. It wasn't political favors that made Enron a success. (Anyway, McCain-Feingold would have allowed Enron executives to donate *more* money to politicians' campaigns, since the law raises the limits on individual contributions.)

Political outrage over Enron has thus inspired a law that, among other things, makes it much harder for angry citizens to run campaign ads complaining about a politician's ties to the company. If that makes sense to you, you will be pleased to learn that Congress is now turning its attention to three other areas that it deems in need of reform: employee pensions, stock options, and the accounting industry.

■

We should accept that even under the wisest policies, we are occasionally going to have some Enrons.

■

Pensions. The public was sympathetic to Enron employees whose 401(k) plans, full of the company's stock, became worthless when the stock did. That sympathy was heightened by misleading media coverage that exaggerated the employees' losses and underestimated the extent to which they were responsible for their own travails.

Realizing that the public's concerns are misplaced, President Bush has offered proposals that address the concerns without doing much harm. For example, the Bush proposal would prohibit executives from selling their company's stocks during periods when regular employees are not allowed to do so.

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Many Democrats want to go much further. Sens. Boxer and Corzine would mandate that company stock make up no more than 20 percent of employees' 401(k) accounts. In their rhetoric, employees across the land are being forced or fooled into owning too much company stock, and they, the legislators, are giving them more options. Other Democrats want to reconsider the whole shift to 401(k) plans over the last generation.

In reality, the market has been responding on its own to employees' desires for diversified portfolios. The percentage of plans that even allow the purchase of company stock has shrunk. When employees do hold company stock, it's usually by choice. If Microsoft employees had been prohibited from owning much of their company's stock, Sens. Boxer and Corzine would no doubt be holding hearings demanding to know why Bill Gates wasn't sharing the wealth.

Boxer argues that the government is justified in overriding the decisions of employers (and employees) because 401(k)s are a kind of government program to begin with—a "tax subsidy." That's true only if the multiple taxation of savings and investment is accepted as the normal rule and any federal decision to tax some savings only once is a generous gift from the government. Nice to know where she's coming from.

Stock options. Supposedly, one of the ways Enron cooked the books was by hiding the cost of the stock options it gave out. Stock options give people the right to buy shares of the company at today's price (or some other set price) at some point in the future. The idea was that an executive who had stock options would have an incentive to make the company's stock rise.

That used to be a popular idea in Democratic circles. President Clinton's 1993 tax bill penalized companies for paying salaries above $1 million—partly to encourage stock options (as it ended up doing), partly just to score populist points. But in the last several years, it's become the conventional wisdom that they're too widespread.

Post-Enron, Sens. John McCain and Carl Levin have resurrected an old proposal of theirs to rein in stock options. Most of the debate about it has centered on questions of disclosure—should companies tell investors how many stock options it has issued in a footnote, or more visibly? But the real danger of the Levin-McCain proposal is that it's a tax increase.

The current tax code determines the value of an option when it's exercised. The beneficiary pays income taxes on what he gets, and the company deducts the cost—just as with regular salaries. (When the option is exercised, the cost incurred by the company shows up immediately in earnings per share.)

■

If conflicts of interest are the problem, separation of auditing and consulting won't solve it.

■

The Levin-McCain bill would limit the company's deduction to an estimate of its value made at the time the option was granted. If the option ends up being more valuable than was estimated, and thus more expensive for the company, the company would be taxed on the difference. The individual's income would still be taxed, too, so some of the proceeds would be taxed twice.

If passed, the bill would therefore strongly discourage stock options. That, in turn, would be a real blow to start-ups that need to attract talented employees but are not able to offer high salaries upfront. Stock options are an inducement to risk-taking. High-tech companies are lobbying like mad against the bill, and they're right to do so.

Accounting regulation. This is the one area where a plausible case can be made that a different regulatory regime might have led Enron's frauds to be uncovered more quickly, or not committed in the first place. The leading reform proposal is that of Arthur Levitt, former chairman of the Securities and Exchange Commission. He wants to separate auditing from consulting: An accounting firm that audits a company couldn't consult for it, too.

The theory is that auditors shouldn't have conflicts of interest, shouldn't be so eager to get or keep a firm's consulting fees that they go easy on the audits. But if conflicts of interest are the problem, separation of auditing and consulting won't solve it. As long as firms hire their own auditors, the incentive for the auditors to go easy remains. Clive Crook, a *National Journal* columnist of generally free-market disposition, has taken the conflict-of-interest argument to its logical conclusion: Audits should be done by a government (or quasi-governmental) agency.

Congress won't go for that, of course. Some other overambitious proposals seem to have fallen by the wayside. Democrats were interested in forcing firms to rotate auditors every five years so that they wouldn't get too cozy with each other, but that idea now looks unlikely to be enacted. Everyone appears to recognize, also, that it would be foolish not to let accounting firms do tax work for the companies they are auditing.

But tax consulting does not exhaust the potential benefits that auditors can provide to firms. Auditors become familiar with companies and sometimes find ways they may improve. Should they be barred from offering advice? And if it really were the case that a no-consulting rule would improve the quality of audits, shouldn't it be up to major creditors and large institutional investors to demand that rule? Let a company that observes the rule—maybe a reformed Andersen, if it survives prosecution—compete with companies that don't.

The implicit ideal of some of the accounting-reform proposals is an adversarial auditing system in which auditors would constantly be on the lookout for misconduct. It's not hard to imagine that a shift in that direction would yield a much more risk-averse corporate culture. Accountants would raise their eyebrows more often, and companies would heed them—both, perhaps, moved by the threat of legal action.

The effect—as with proposals to discourage stock options and 401(k) plans—would be to make America's economy more like Europe's. Many Democrats would probably be happy with that outcome. But most Americans would not be. The decentralized risks of our economy are the flip side of our dynamism. It would be a shame if posturing about Enron were to erode our distinctive strengths. **NR**

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■ PUBLIC POLICY II ■

Fort Liberalism

Can Justice's civil rights division be Bushified?

JOHN J. MILLER

TRANSIT cops in Philadelphia can't afford to take long snack breaks at the doughnut shop. They have to stay fit and trim, able to run eight or ten city blocks, sometimes going up and down flights of stairs carrying heavy gear. When they arrive at a scene to assist commuters, they must have enough energy to grapple with criminals or help people in trouble.

It's a tough assignment, but the Southeastern Pennsylvania Transportation Authority (SEPTA) makes sure it hires people who are up to the task. Eleven years ago, it developed a test requiring applicants to run one-and-a-half miles in under 12 minutes while wearing 26 pounds of equipment. Since this testing started, a lot of applicants have failed to meet the standard, including 93 percent of women. Feminists howled about sexism and filed a lawsuit against SEPTA. They didn't have much of a case, but that hardly mattered to the adventurous spirits who ran the civil rights division at the Department of Justice during the Clinton years; in 1997, they joined the suit.

Over the next four years, a judge ruled twice ruled in favor of SEPTA. Last fall, as the never-say-die plaintiffs wanted to press forward against increasingly hopeless odds, the civil rights division—now headed by Bush appointee Ralph F. Boyd—would have none of it and pulled out. Though considered wildly controversial in the fever swamps of civil rights activism, this was actually a responsible decision, breaking from the reckless litigation strategies of the Clinton years. "All the bad stuff we used to see, such as the SEPTA case, has slowed to a trickle," says Roger Clegg of the Center for Equal Opportunity, which monitors the division's activities.

Assistant attorney general for civil rights is one of the most contentious posts in the entire federal government. Lani Guinier failed to get the job during the Clinton administration; Bill Lann Lee got it only because Clinton installed him as "acting" head of the division when the Senate was poised to reject his nomination. In 1989, Democratic senators blocked Bill Lucas, a black lawyer and former sheriff from Michigan who was said to lack civil rights expertise.

Last year, the White House reportedly had a hard time finding a Republican for the job, which was seen as a career killer. Bradford Reynolds held the post during the Reagan administration, but it doomed his advancement within the federal government: In 1985, he was denied a promotion to become the third-ranking official at Justice because he ran the civil rights division in a conservative manner. The Bush administration eventually settled on Boyd, a Boston former prosecutor who hadn't voted for a GOP presidential candidate until 1996. Without Guinier's long paper trail, Lee's history of activism, or Lucas's uninspiring résumé, however, he was an acceptable candidate, and the Senate confirmed him in July.

There may be no part of the federal government where liberalism is more deeply entrenched. "Everything's political around here," complains one career lawyer. "Several of my colleagues took vacation time to campaign for Al Gore in 2000. You should have heard all the cheering when the Florida Supreme Court issued that ridiculous ruling after the election. It was like the home team had just hit a walk-off home run in the bottom of the ninth."

Ralph F. Boyd by Ismael Roldan

Many of the civil rights division's lawyers are hired directly from such groups as the ACLU and NAACP. "Certain kinds of people aspire to be civil rights attorneys, and not many of them are conservative," explains Clint Bolick of the Institute for Justice, who worked in the division in the 1980s. Boyd won't admit that this is a big deal. "The overwhelming preponderance of career staff are exceptionally good at what they do," he says. "There is a very small minority of folks who I will just say are less professional than I would like to see." Most of Boyd's top aides, however, think the less-professional types pose a serious problem—and their ability and willingness to hurt Boyd has recently become apparent.

In the months following his confirmation, Boyd didn't make much news. Then, in March, a parade of *Washington Post* stories on the civil rights division started to appear—every one of them the result of hostile career lawyers within the division choosing to play Deep Throat. The coverage began with unnamed sources criticizing Boyd for moving Katherine Baldwin, the lawyer in charge of the employment-litigation section, onto a special task force. This was spun as a sneaky effort to gain more control over the division, though almost nobody mentioned that Baldwin herself had risen to section chief under similar circumstances shortly after Bill Clinton's inauguration—or that Clinton's people had replaced one-third of the division's section chiefs at the time. (The Clinton purge probably wasn't seen as quite so newsworthy because not many career lawyers complained about it—they in fact welcomed a more politicized division.)

Two days after the Baldwin story, Boyd was in the *Post* again—this time for issuing a "gag order" on career lawyers. The "gag order," however, was simply a

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Who says we are winning the $19 billion-a-year drug war?

- New drugs and more dangerous forms of the old drugs are widely available, e.g. crack and methamphetamine.[1]

- Adolescent drug use has been increasing since 1990.[2]

- The age at which people first try heroin, cocaine, and marijuana is constantly dropping because there are so many new users.[3]

- The price of heroin and cocaine is at its lowest point in 20 years and the purity of both drugs is at near record levels.[4]

- Overdose deaths and mentions of drugs in hospital emergency rooms are at record levels.[5]

- Bans on the sale and availability of clean syringes have added significantly to the spread of HIV/AIDS.[6]

Who says we're winning . . . other than frightened politicians, ideologues, and people who make their living from prohibition?

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Kevin B. Zeese, President, Common Sense for Drug Policy
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1 ONDCP, National Drug Control Strategy, "Methamphetamine Lab Seizures, by State 1995-2001," pg 108, Table 67, February 2002 citing El Paso Intelligence Center; ONDCP.
2 Institute for Social Research, University of Michigan, *Monitoring the Future* (December 2001).
3 Substance Abuse and Mental Health Services Administration, Office of Applied Studies, "Summary of Findings from the 2000 National Household Survey on Drug Abuse" (Rockville, MD: SAMHSA, September 2001).
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6 CDC, *HIV/AIDS Surveillance Report, 2000*, 12 (2) 2001, Table 30; Lurie, P. & Drucker, E., "An Opportunity Lost: HIV Infections Associated with Lack of a National Needle-Exchange Programme in the USA," Lancet, 349:604-8 (1997).

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memo written by a fellow career lawyer reminding them that they shouldn't disclose internal law-enforcement deliberations. Yet it was presented to the *Post* as a dastardly document that was spreading fear in the ranks.

Then came the big story: a front-page *Post* article headlined "Bias Case Decree May Be Lifted." It said Boyd was thinking about ending a consent decree signed by the Adam's Mark hotel chain two years ago. The company had agreed to pay fines and undergo monitoring as part of a lawsuit settlement rising from its treatment of black patrons. Last October, Boyd met with Adam's Mark officials, who pleaded for modifications. Boyd refused to grant them any. Even if he had, it would hardly have risen to the level of front-page news: Multi-year consent decrees are often altered over the course of their implementation. The *Post* cited a February letter from Boyd to the company saying that if Adam's Mark continued to obey the consent decree over the next nine months, terminating it prior to its 2004 expiration was a possibility. Again, Boyd did not commit to any course of action—but then he didn't explicitly promise not to make changes, either. This was the thin reed the *Post* had to go on. "They might have headlined the story, 'Boyd Refuses To Change Decree,'" says one of his deputies. "But then that wouldn't be a good news article, would it?"

The Missouri-based hotel chain eventually dropped its request for a review, after critics pointed out that its CEO and other employees had been financial supporters of attorney general John Ashcroft over the years. For those who didn't pay close attention to this case or the other recent ones, however, they left the false impression that Boyd is more interested in playing politics than enforcing the law.

Career lawyers have made this interpretation possible by leaking like sieves; one of their goals may be to influence Boyd and the administration in its future decision-making. Coming soon is what former deputy assistant attorney general Mike Carvin calls "the big enchilada": a lawsuit over the University of Michigan's system of racial preferences. The case is currently before a panel of federal appeals judges. Their decision hardly matters because the case is almost certainly headed toward the Supreme Court. Assuming the high court takes it up, the Department of Justice may then offer an opinion on the key dispute in the case—whether "diversity" is a sufficient rationale for employing racial preferences. Several Court watchers believe Sandra Day O'Connor's swing vote may hinge on where the Bush administration comes down on the issue.

There's no guarantee the Bushies will want to challenge the concept of diversity. Last year in *Adarand*, the Department of Justice filed a brief before the Supreme Court arguing *in favor* of set-aside contracts. If something like that happens with regard to the Michigan case, career lawyers in the civil rights division will have occasion to congratulate themselves for helping make possible such a legal disaster for conservatives.

Republicans should work to gain more control over the civil rights division and its renegade lawyers. The forces of opposition have burrowed in and they're willing to wait out any GOP regime. Yet a few obvious steps would begin to address fundamental problems. Instead of putting a single section chief on what Boyd calls a "temporary" task force, the administration should permanently replace those it believes it can't trust. "Four or five new section chiefs would do a world of good," says a career lawyer with experience in the division. At the same time, Republican political appointees should seize control of the hiring process. They don't need to make sure every new lawyer is a member of the Federalist Society; simply hiring competent professionals who don't come from left-wing organizations would be an enormous improvement.

Finally, Boyd should consolidate and move his own office out of the main Justice building on Pennsylvania Avenue. His lawyers are currently scattered across the city in several locations, none of them under the direct authority of a Bush appointee. "The front office doesn't know what's going on a lot of the time," says one career lawyer. "That encourages some of the attorneys to act with more independence than they might otherwise. Around here, that isn't usually a good thing." **NR**

■ **PUBLIC POLICY III** ■

Altared States

Bush tries to promote marriage through welfare reform

KATE O'BEIRNE

THE experience of decades makes clear that welfare and non-marriage go together like a horse and carriage. Forty percent of children with single mothers are poor—five times the rate of children with married parents—so President Bush proposes that the federal government get into the business of promoting marriage in order to reduce welfare dependency. In the next round of reform, the president declares, "stable families should be the central goal of American welfare policy."

Predictably, the initiative has been condemned by the government-friendly Left: *The American Prospect*'s Robert Kuttner has derided its goal as "shotgun welfare betrothals." Also not surprisingly, a recent Pew Research Center poll found that marriage-friendly conservatives object to government meddling in this private relationship: Almost 80 percent of Americans—and 60 percent of "highly committed" white evangelicals—object to the government's encouraging people to marry. This latest example of Bush's activist conservative agenda is meeting the same fate as its predecessor, the plan to increase the role of faith-based charities by federally funding their good works: Liberals are objecting to the goal, and conservatives have reservations about the means.

The 1996 welfare reform has shown remarkable success in putting welfare recipients to work: The rolls are down by over 50 percent, and three-quarters of single mothers are now employed. But there has been only modest success in achieving the reform law's other key goal: the reduction of out-of-wedlock births and the "formation and encouragement of two-parent families."

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Only a handful of states have heeded Washington's call to implement programs aimed at promoting marriage among the poor. West Virginia pays a $100 monthly bonus to married welfare families, while Michigan and Utah offer classes and videos on marriage and parenting skills. Oklahoma has the most ambitious program, involving churches, social-service agencies, and the business community in extolling the importance of marriage and the harmful effects of divorce. (It's too early to tell whether there has been any payoff from these state efforts.) The administration now proposes setting aside $300 million to induce other states to launch their own experiments to encourage "healthy, two-parent married families."

Conservatives—and many liberals—can at least agree on what the problem is: The evidence that children are far better off being raised by their married, biological parents is overwhelming. Studies consistently show that children living in broken or never-formed families are more likely to have emotional and behavioral problems, fail in school, be physically abused, be involved in crime, and wind up on welfare as adults. Children have clearly suffered as a result of a federal welfare system that for decades subsidized single parents and penalized marriage. With subsidies inevitably increasing the behavior Washington was paying for, and modern cultural norms dictating that no stigma attach to illegitimacy and single motherhood, the number of out-of-wedlock births soared.

The media image notwithstanding, unmarried mothers are far more likely to be high-schoolers than Wall Street lawyers haunted by the ticking of their biological clocks. Although teen pregnancy and birth rates have declined over the past ten years, the U.S. still has the highest rates of teen pregnancy and birth in the fully industrialized world. Four out of ten all-American girls become pregnant at least once before they celebrate their 20th birthdays. About 80 percent of teen mothers are unmarried, and 75 percent are on welfare within five years.

Early, unmarried motherhood typically gives birth to poverty and welfare dependency. Half of all welfare recipients had their first baby as a teenager. Robert Rector of the Heritage Foundation logically concludes that the "collapse of marriage is the principal cause of child poverty." He estimates that federal and state spending in means-tested aid for single-parent families amounts to about $150 billion a year. Rector also recognizes the inherent anti-marriage bias in means-tested welfare programs that offer cash and services to low-income single mothers, and that reduce benefits upon marriage to a working husband.

■

There is no taste for the hard truths, even among the boosters of wedded bliss.

■

Because he doesn't see Washington dismantling this means-tested welfare system anytime soon, Rector thinks it's about time the federal government spent a fraction of what it spends on single-parent families on an effort to reduce the number of such families. But here's where it gets complicated: How exactly does the government expect $300 million to counteract the anti-marriage effects of the $150 billion it spends on means-tested programs? No one knows. Ron Haskins of the Brookings Institution, a veteran welfare analyst who is advising the administration on welfare reform, explains, "We know that marriage is important, but we don't know how to promote it, so we want to put money out and see what we learn."

The hope is that just as the welfare culture was shifted toward an appreciation of the importance of work and self-sufficiency, it can also be taught to value the benefits of marriage. A comprehensive study of the 1996 reform by the Nelson A. Rockefeller Institute of Government marvels at the success of state welfare agencies in adopting the "work first" demands of the law. Welfare offices are adorned with banners proclaiming, "Welcome Job Seekers!" and "Life Works If You Work First." But the researchers caution that state workers—who have little trouble demanding that others work—are likely to be less enthusiastic in touting the importance of marriage. A New York City official pointed out: "Ninety percent of our workers are themselves single parents and identify on that point with their clients."

Isabel Sawhill, Haskins's colleague at the Brookings Institution and president of the National Campaign to Prevent Teen Pregnancy, doesn't dispute the demonstrable benefits for children of having married parents, but thinks that the failure to marry is not the problem. She notes that 90 percent of American women are married by the age of 45, but women in their mid-twenties are more likely to have children than to be married—so Sawhill believes that the problem that must be addressed is early childbearing. Rather than encourage marriage, she says, we should "stop people from having babies before they get married."

Research shows that this is a plausible idea: Teen marriages are especially unstable, and once a woman becomes a single mother her prospects for marriage to anyone other than the baby's father are slim. Sawhill advocates that welfare offices keep doing what they're doing; she cites evidence that the demands that young mothers work, and that young men pay child support, have already contributed to the (modest) decline in the number of single-parent families.

Making welfare more demanding has the indirect—but quite logical—effect of making single motherhood less appealing. Indeed, as we have learned, the attempt to discourage single motherhood is *always* indirect: The proponents of marriage, beginning with President Bush, dare not extol its benefits without first paying tribute to the nobility of single mothers. There is no taste for the hard truths, even among the boosters of wedded bliss. But until the culture is willing to stigmatize unmarried sex and the irresponsibility of single mothers who risk damaging their children by failing to marry before giving birth, it's difficult to see how the number of illegitimate (whoops!) children will be significantly reduced. If single mothers bore the social stigma of smokers, children would be far better off. **NR**

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■ THE CLINTONS ■

Roger & Rosario

Clinton, that is.

And Gambino, that is.

BYRON YORK

On January 16, 1996, Carol Getty, a top official at the U.S. Parole Commission, answered the telephone in her office at regional headquarters in Kansas City, Mo. Getty wasn't quite prepared for what happened next. The caller was President Clinton's brother, Roger, and he wanted to ask that a man named Rosario Gambino, an organized-crime figure serving 45 years in federal prison for heroin smuggling, be granted parole. As Clinton spoke, Getty became increasingly concerned. Clinton seemed familiar with some of the inner workings of the Parole Commission—he said he knew the Kansas City office was scheduled to be closed soon and that Getty might not remain a commissioner for much longer, which wasn't public knowledge at the time—and he told Getty he wanted to come by her office in the next day or two. Getty, who knew it would be improper for a commissioner to discuss the details of a case with a member of the public, much less the president's brother, said Clinton could meet with her staff. Then she ended the conversation and called her bosses in Washington.

The calls that day began an extraordinary debate inside the commission as officials realized that the president's brother was making appeals on behalf of a notorious mobster. Although it has long been known that Roger Clinton, during his brother's last days in office, tried to win a presidential pardon for Gambino, his attempts to influence the Parole Commission have received much less notice. In the summer of 1998—at about the same time Bill Clinton's sex-and-perjury scandal was reaching a crescendo—Roger Clinton's efforts attracted the attention of the FBI, which tried to set up a sting operation in the case, only to be frustrated by a political appointee on the commission who feared that independent counsel Kenneth Starr was behind the investigation (he wasn't). The story, in all its intriguing detail, is told in "Justice Undone: Clemency Decisions in the Clinton White House," an impressively comprehensive report by the House Government Reform Committee that has so far received far less attention than it deserves.

Roger Clinton's involvement with the Gambino case began around 1995. As Clinton recalled in an interview with the FBI, he was in a nightclub in Beverly Hills when a man named Pasquale—Clinton didn't remember his last name but knew he was the manager for an old rock singer named Gino Vannelli—said he wanted Clinton to meet someone. It was Tommy Gambino, the son of Rosario Gambino, and a reputed crime figure himself. Tommy Gambino wanted Clinton's help in getting his father out of prison.

The two men became friends. Gambino showed Clinton the legal papers he had filed in efforts to get Rosario out of jail, and Clinton later told the FBI that he came to believe that Rosario had not been treated fairly. Clinton said he sympathized with Rosario's plight because he had once been in prison himself and knew what it was like.

Rockin' Roger Clinton by Roman Genn

It's not clear whether Clinton and Tommy Gambino had a financial arrangement. Gambino certainly seemed to have money. He sometimes gave Clinton "expense" money, and once gave him a check for $50,000. Gambino also asked Clinton whether he had ever owned a Rolex watch; Clinton said no. Gambino later gave him one, calling the gift an "Italian custom."

As his friendship with Tommy Gambino grew, Clinton decided to contact the Parole Commission on Rosario's behalf. After the first call on January 16, 1996, Carol Getty called Michael Gaines, a top official at the main office in suburban Washington, to tell him what had happened. The next morning, Clinton called the Kansas City office again, to say he would not be coming in because he had decided it would be better to go straight to the national headquarters. About two weeks later, on January 30, Clinton called Gaines and left a message with the secretary. It said, "Roger Clinton, very important. ASAP—Re: brother recommended meeting."

Now it was Gaines's turn to be nervous. He wrote a memo to his file, saying, "I do not know Roger Clinton, and I have not spoken to him about this matter." He called the White House counsel's office to tell them about the message. And he got in touch with the Parole Commission's general counsel, Michael Stover, who volunteered to return Clinton's call. According to a memo Stover wrote after the call, Clinton told Stover that his brother, the president, was "completely aware of my involvement." Clinton also said the president had told him the Kansas City office would be closed soon, and that he should contact Washington instead.

Stover told Clinton that Gaines could not meet with him, which caused Clinton to become angry and raise his voice. After the conversation, Stover wrote that he was "disturbed at the tactic employed by Roger Clinton of repeatedly invoking his brother" and that the Parole Commission "must not permit itself to be subjected to improper

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attempts to exercise political influence over its procedures." Stover alerted the Justice Department, and also asked Gaines to call the White House to warn them about Clinton's actions.

Perhaps because he got such a chilly reception from Stover, Roger Clinton did not call back; indeed, he did not contact the commission for more than a year afterward. Then, in December 1997, he called Gaines again (Gaines had become chairman of the commission) and asked for a meeting. By that time, the commission had hired a chief of staff—Marie Ragghianti, the agency's first political-appointee staffer—and Gaines asked her to meet with Clinton. When Stover heard about the meeting, he warned against it, but Ragghianti went forward.

According to the House committee report, Ragghianti took an immediate liking to Clinton. She told congressional investigators that Roger was "not the yokel he is painted to be" and that she found him "downright engaging." After the meeting, she spoke to colleagues about Clinton's charm, saying, "This isn't even the president. Imagine what the president is like." After the meeting, Clinton kept in touch with Ragghianti. In the spring of 1998, he was given another meeting, and in the next couple of months he called Ragghianti and other commission officials eleven times (Ragghianti had given him her home phone number). Then, in July 1998, he met with her yet again.

That is where things stood when, the following month, the commission got a call from an FBI agent who wanted to look at the Gambino file. Commission staffers didn't know whether the agent was interested in Gambino or Roger Clinton, but they gave the FBI all their documents in the case. After that, agents went back several times to interview staffers about Clinton.

Meanwhile, Clinton continued calling the commission, but Ragghianti no longer took his calls. On January 22, 1999, Clinton happened to call at a time when an FBI agent was at the commission's offices. The agent listened to the messages Clinton left and asked permission to record them. A short time later, the FBI suggested what was in effect a sting operation against Clinton. Agents wanted Thomas Kowalski, a senior commission official who had been in the meetings between Ragghianti and Clinton, to meet Clinton at a restaurant, taking along an agent who would pose as another commission staffer. Ragghianti rejected the idea.

The FBI came back with another request. Would Kowalski page Clinton and then allow the FBI to record the conversation when Clinton called back? The plan sparked an intense internal debate, with Ragghianti arguing that the FBI agents were on a "witch hunt" and might even be working for Ken Starr. (She called the local U.S. attorney, who assured her that the FBI was working for that office, not Starr.) Despite Ragghianti's objections, Kowalski agreed to go along. In the spring of 1999, when Clinton called to say he would be in Washington and wanted a meeting, Kowalski allowed the FBI to put a listening device in his office.

By her own account, Ragghianti was a nervous wreck as she waited in her office while Kowalski met with Clinton. She had instructed Kowalski how to begin the meeting—he was to tell Clinton that it would be their last meeting and emphasize that he could not meet with the parole commissioners. As it turned out, Clinton said nothing incriminating, instead making the same pitch he had made for Gambino earlier. The FBI agents left and apparently ended their investigation.

What did it all mean? Perhaps Roger Clinton never intended to do anything wrong. On the other hand, Ragghianti's decision to reject the FBI's original sting plan "may have had a crippling effect on the FBI investigation," as the House committee report concludes. In any event, in May 1999 the commission denied parole for Rosario Gambino.

But Clinton did not give up. Instead, he turned his attention to convincing his brother to pardon Gambino (a plan that also failed). After the pardon scandal broke into the open, Clinton's work for Gambino, along with his efforts to win pardons for other criminals, led to a still-unfinished investigation by federal prosecutors. In the end, the House report says the Clinton/Gambino episode set "a new low for presidential siblings"—a conclusion with which even the former president's defenders might well agree. **NR**

■ **CULTURE WATCH** ■

The Return of Phil

'The pretend thinking man's pretend thinking man'

ROB LONG

'HAVE your *second* cup of coffee with Phil Donahue."

That was the advertising slogan of the old *Donahue* show, back when he was a humble Chicago morning-talk-show host, back when the whole idea of a "talk show" on morning television was novel and slightly naughty.

You see, as everyone in that very different mid-1970s America would have understood, you had your *first* cup of coffee racing around the kitchen getting kids off to school and your husband off to work. Have a nice day, kiss kiss, here's your lunch, don't forget to pick up my suit from the cleaners, I won't honey, bye, kiss kiss, clean up the breakfast dishes, pour yourself a *second* cup of coffee, sit down with Phil who's interviewing a homosexual teen and his mother, sort laundry, vacuum, get suit at dry cleaners, start dinner.

It must have been weird to be a husband in those days, coming home in the evening to a couple of kids fresh from a schoolday spent learning to denounce *Huckleberry Finn* from their English teacher, and the free market from their history teacher; and to a wife who'd somehow, some way, somewhere between breakfast and the dry cleaner acquired a tolerant, curious attitude toward transvestite priests and feminist political tracts. Poor dad. Mouths full of food bought with the money he had made by meeting impossibly high sales targets set by a terrifying boss, his family could linger at the dinner table talking about things like sexually transmitted diseases, solar-powered cars, corporate greed, America's genocidal war against the Native Americans, male strippers, the Equal Rights Amendment, things he and the guys at

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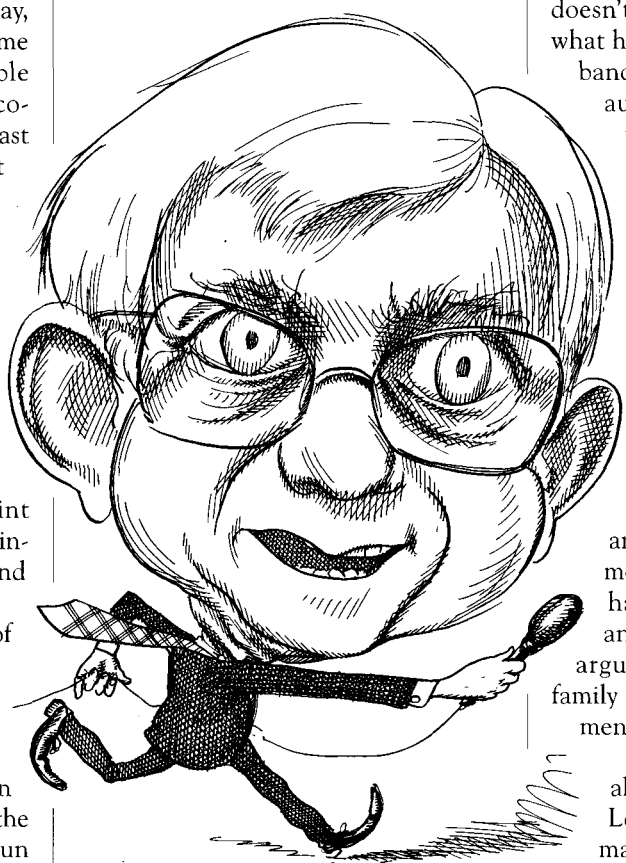
work simply did not discuss. And it must have been strange to suddenly realize that it wasn't just the kids who spouted this crap—hell, they're *kids*, they're taught by women in peasant skirts and men in beards (and sometimes, he was pretty sure, the other way around, too), they're *supposed* to be full of it, but where did his wife pick up this . . . this . . . this *attitude*? Where'd she get all this stuff about nuclear power and couples who swing?

But all of that was, as the kids say, "back in the day," when stay-at-home moms followed a pretty predictable daily pattern and cut across all economic groups. This morning, the vast middle-class female audience that used to tune into Phil's show is probably having their second cup of coffee in the break room at the data-processing facility of a large pharmaceutical company. And the stay-at-home moms might be more moved by a slogan asking them to "have your *second* iced decaf nonfat latte with your *Mommy and Me* facilitator." The lurid topics of the Donahue show seem pretty quaint these days, what with Monica Lewinsky's dress and pedophile priests and the ladies on *The View*, so it was a curiously retro decision on the part of the troubled, faltering MSNBC cable news channel to sign up Phil Donahue for a new talk show.

It's a hugely different landscape from the one Phil enjoyed in the olden days. For one thing, he no longer has the lecture hall to himself. He can't run another sneaky left-wing social-studies class all alone. Instead, he's joined a faculty of talkers and screamers, of oddball righties and loony lefties. At the University of American Television Discourse, Phil's going to have to fight for every breath. Say hello to your colleagues, Phil. Say hello to Greta, Bill, Hannity & Colmes, Alan Keyes, Larry King, Paula, Shepard, Aaron, Wolf, Judy, Chris Matthews, and Larry Kudlow & Jim Cramer. Bid a "basic cable" greeting to Brian Williams and Tucker Carlson and Paul Begala and whoever is hosting CNN's *TalkBack Live* this week. And don't get me started on Lou Dobbs, Neil Cavuto, and Judith Regan. There's not a lot of oxygen left in the room.

Things may have changed, but Phil remains deeply and unchangeably Phil. Appearing on television recently to announce his new MSNBC contract, he was still working the same act. Phil always looks pained, like he's thinking really hard about a question before answering it. And when he answers it, he gets a squinched-up this-is-hard-for-me-to-say look, right before delivering the answer you knew all along he would, one that mentions "alternative sources of energy" or "corporate ownership of our government" or "the so-called Christian Right." He's playing a version of the disillusioned Boy Scout, the former altar boy, the reformed middle-class conservative who has suddenly loosened up a bit and learned to accept lesbian couples raising test-tube babies. He's the pretend thinking man's pretend thinking man. It's the same act he had all those years ago, in Chicago. "I'm just like your husband, ladies," he appeared to ooze to his audience, "if he wasn't such an uptight stress case."



Phil Donahue by Roman Genn

His direct time-slot competition is the astonishingly successful Bill O'Reilly, the bulldog host of *The O'Reilly Factor* on the astonishingly successful Fox News Channel. The big-ticket bout of O'Reilly vs. Donahue is rich with cultural meaning. In the first place, O'Reilly has a pretty solid act of his own. He, too, plays the former Boy Scout, altar boy, and middle-class conservative. But he's a distinctly unreformed one. He's a barker and a pointer, and he doesn't pretend to be thinking hard about a question to which he already has an answer, and he doesn't bother looking pained to say what he thinks. "I'm just like your husband, ladies," O'Reilly grins to his audience, "if he wasn't such a wuss."

And it isn't just the ladies watching now. By moving from daylight to dark, Phil has entered a more competitive—and more honest—contest. No more lingering over a cup of coffee in the quiet of an empty house. Instead, he's competing with zappers and flippers and *Simpsons* reruns, not to mention the red-meat-eating O'Reilly. America doesn't really argue over the dinner table anymore, and if they did, it would be hard to shock Dad these days anyway. America watches others argue instead. We've outsourced family strife. It's actually an improvement.

Finally, the return of Phil Donahue signals the exhaustion of the Left. Faced with the increased marginalization of the Big Three news anchors, the rise and rise of Fox News, the blossoming of conservative voices on every cable news outlet, it can't be easy to be a part of the vast left-wing conspiracy. But to trot out a tired figure from the left wing's glorious yesterday is just, well, tired.

And that's the very good news about Phil Donahue's last lap on television. It will probably be a failure. And it will vindicate the point conservatives have been making for years: that when the American viewer is given a choice, he—or she—will usually choose to listen to a right-wing rant rather than a left-wing one. Americans—these days, anyway—will probably rather have a second Jack-and-Coke with O'Reilly. **NR**

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Thanks for the MEMRI (.org)

An institute, and its website, bring the Arab world to light

JAY NORDLINGER

AFTER the 9/11 attacks, the West realized that it knew little about the Arab world—in fact, dangerously little. Why do they hate us so, and did this come out of the blue? It seemed imperative to learn more about the Arabs—to learn, for example, what they were saying to one another, in their media, in their schools, and in their mosques. The Arab world had always been dark this way; it needed to come into the light.

And this is where www.memri.org proved "invaluable," as everyone has said. It is more than a website, of course; it is an institute, specifically the Middle East Media Research Institute, or MEMRI. What it does, mainly, is provide translations of Arab newspaper articles, television shows, political statements, sermons, textbooks, and so on. MEMRI invites one and all to "Explore the Middle East Through Its Own Media"—which is what many people, including journalists, began to do last fall. Plenty of journalists leaned heavily on MEMRI's translations, citing "the invaluable Middle East Media Research Institute." In fact, "invaluable" was written so often before MEMRI's name that one could have been forgiven for thinking the word was part of the name. MEMRI served as an antidote to darkness, as a way not to be ignorant.

Consider the case of Sheikh Muhammad al-Gamei'a, as "mainstream" a Muslim as one could have hoped for. He was head of the Islamic Cultural Center and Mosque on New York's Upper East Side, the very symbol of Muslim splendor in America. Al-Gamei'a was the kind who participated in interreligious services and offered soothing words about peace, healing, and brotherhood. This is the sort of role he played—speaking in English—immediately after September 11.

But then he went home to Egypt and, on October 4, gave an eye-opening interview to a prominent Islamic website. The sheikh told his audience that, after September 11, Arabs in America could not go to hospitals, because Jewish doctors were making them sick; that Americans were firing on mosques and murdering Arabs in the street, with impunity; that Americans knew that the Jews—not radical Arabs—were responsible for the attacks, but were afraid to speak up about it, for fear of being labeled anti-Semitic.

After expounding on secret Jewish control, al-Gamei'a turned to Hitler—as Arab opinion-makers tend to do (a fact documented sickeningly and undeniably by MEMRI). Said the sheikh: "Now [the Jews] are riding on the back of the world powers. These people always seek out the superpower of the generation and develop coexistence with it. Before this, they rode on the back of England and on the back of the French empire. After that, they rode on the back of Germany. But Hitler annihilated them because they betrayed him and violated their contract with him."

Al-Gamei'a then explained that "on the news in the U.S. it was said that four thousand Jews did not come to work at the World Trade Center on the day of the incident, and that the police arrested a group of Jews rejoicing in the streets at the time of the incident." But "this news item was hushed up immediately after it was broadcast," because "the Jews who control the media acted to hush it up so that the American people would not know. If it became known to the American people, they would have done to the Jews what Hitler did!"

Under ordinary circumstances, the sheikh's words—so unlike those he had uttered, in English, while Muslim leader in New York—would have gone unnoticed in the West. But circumstances had changed, and journalists were attuned to MEMRI, meaning that the usual double game—sweetness and reason in English, lies and hate in Arabic—could not be played, in the dark. The al-Gamei'a story made it all the way to the top, which is to say, into the *New York Times*. The newspaper duly had "two independent translators" confirm the MEMRI translation—the institute's work has never been found to be anything but honest, accurate, and meticulous. And the sheikh was exposed.

Why do ordinary Arabs believe such awful things about us? rings the question. And the answer—or at least part of the answer—is that they hear them from their authorities, incessantly.

The stream of materials kept coming from MEMRI, many of them startling conventional U.S. journalists, in part because a great deal of them came from Egypt and Saudi Arabia, two nations always counted among the "moderates." Those acquainted with the Middle East were unsurprised, but everyone else—who took the question seriously—was somewhat awed. The anti-Israeli feeling could have been expected; but the anti-Americanism was, if anything, more breathtaking. Still more breathtaking was the anti-Semitism: not garden-variety anti-Semitism, and not present-day European anti-Semitism, but anti-Semitism on the Nazi level. A veteran Middle East scholar once confided to me that the Muslim world is full of *Mein Kampfs*, big and little. Some are full-length books, some are essays, editorials, pamphlets, all declaring intentions, all

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divulging convictions, all remarkably candid. They have only to be read.

MEMRI made clear that the people celebrating in the Middle East over September 11 were not only the radicalized masses, but the elites who had radicalized them. Well before that terrible day, the Arab media were full of exultation over the attacks that Osama bin Laden and al-Qaeda had already committed against America, and were anticipating and urging yet more spectacular ones. In July, Dr. Faisal al-Qassem, host of a talk show on al-Jazeera—sometimes described as the "Arab CNN"—said, "Has bin Laden not become a worthy opponent, feared by America—for whom [America] moves its fleets and puts its army and embassies on highest alert? . . . Who smashed one of its destroyers on the high seas? Who fought it in Somalia and caused its troops to run like rabbits? Who made its embassies throughout the world into fortresses [whose residents] fear even a light breeze? Who caused America to yelp in pain one hundred times?"

Yet the host did fault bin Laden on one score: "Where are bin Laden's attacks on Israel? True, according to opinion polls we conducted, America is Enemy No. 1 . . . but Israel is the spearhead. Where is his struggle, his jihad against Israel? Why are we not seeing it?"

After September 11, of course, bin Laden became an even greater figure, although some commentators—moderates, one might even call them—preferred to concentrate on the evil of the American war. Ibrahim Nafi' is editor-in-chief of *Al-Ahram*, the government daily in Cairo. In October, he wrote that U.S. forces were dropping their food for desperate Afghans in minefields. He further suggested that this food had been "genetically treated," with "the aim of affecting the health of the Afghan people" (for the worse, naturally). Therefore the Afghans would be unlucky either way: blown up by mines or poisoned by America's food gifts. We should bear in mind that Nafi' is not some "crazy" spouting off in a renegade organ, but the equivalent of the principal editor of the *New York Times*, although appointed by the head of state.

A VITAL SERVICE

The veil has been lifted by MEMRI. The institute is the brainchild of Yigal Carmon, who, with co-founder Meyrav Wurmser, began these efforts four years ago. (Wurmser is now at the Hudson Institute in Washington, while Carmon continues with MEMRI.) An Israeli, Carmon was born in Romania, to parents speaking Romanian, Hungarian, and German. Carmon would go on to speak several more languages. He is of a type more common in his country than in others: a military man—he is a retired military-intelligence colonel—and an intellectual, a scholar. He is a specialist in Arabic, Arab literature, and Arab politics. Carmon served as counter-terrorism adviser to two prime ministers, Shamir and Rabin, and participated in negotiations with the Syrians.

In establishing MEMRI, he wanted to bring the Arab world to Western governments, journalists, and publics at large, without filters and without distortions. Few outsiders learn Arabic, and Westerners—including Middle East correspondents—have always been at the mercy of what Arabs tell them in their own tongues. Carmon's idea was that political elites (in particular) should read editorials in *Al-Ahram* the same way they read editorials in the *Jerusalem Post* or the *New York Times*—with their morning coffee.

At first, he focused mainly on the Palestinian Authority and Egypt, with the most urgent attention being paid to the P.A. Yasser Arafat would speak to his people preaching jihad—on P.A. TV—and few on the outside knew it. Carmon simply translated these speeches and distributed them to all interested parties. Some in the Israeli government were profoundly irritated by this project, because to hear Arafat in the raw was to doubt that he could be a "partner for peace," as the Israeli leadership very much needed him to be. Foreign minister Shimon Peres once chided, "The point is not to expose them but to change them." MEMRI retorts that exposure—knowledge, openness, understanding—is a precondition to change.

MEMRI staffers work virtually around the clock, with an almost missionary spirit, feeling that their work is vital, that their moment is now.

From small beginnings, the institute branched out, literally. It is now headquartered in Washington, and has offices in Jerusalem, London, and Berlin. MEMRI translates into English, French, Spanish, German, Russian, Hebrew, and Turkish; soon it will do Italian, and perhaps Japanese. The institute's staff number about thirty, and they are of assorted nationalities and religions. The outfit runs on a shoestring, with Carmon constantly on a hunt for money. MEMRI exists entirely on private donations—there are about 250 donors, including some foundations—and will not accept any government money, as a matter of policy. Independence and objectivity are matters of pride here. Staffers work virtually around the clock, with an almost missionary spirit, feeling that their work is vital, that their moment is now.

Carmon and his team are most eager to stress that a major part of their mission is to highlight the "good guys" in the Middle East: the democrats, or near democrats; the liberals, or near liberals—anyone who evinces the slightest interest in reform. If a professor somewhere in the Gulf writes a letter-to-the-editor expressing reasonableness or the hope of change, MEMRI seizes on it, trumpeting it, holding it out as a flower amid the weeds. The institute is useful for "gotcha"—for a kind of ideological and rhetorical whistle-blowing; but it is most interested in encouraging democracy and reform. Carmon dreams of, to borrow language from another region and period, *perestroika* and *glasnost* in the Arab world.

For the time being, however, the "gotcha" elements will remain in the fore. When Arafat appears on *60 Minutes*—as he did—he can now be confronted with his Arabic statements—as he was. When Hanan Ashrawi, the PLO's smooth and earnest-seeming spokeswoman, is interviewed on Fox News, she is faced with the Friday sermons broadcast on Palestinian Authority TV. Egyptian officials are queried about the steady Hitlerism in their country's official media, and they huffily deny it—but then a columnist goes and reiterates, "Thanks [be] to Hitler, of blessed memory, who on behalf of the Palestinians revenged in advance

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against the most vile criminals on the face of the earth. Although we do have a complaint against him, for his revenge on them was not enough."

Just as many Arab officials and opinionists praise bin Laden for September 11 in one breath, and in the next breath insist that the Jews, rather than bin Laden, perpetrated it, they are apt to deny the Holocaust in one breath, and then hail it in the next. They seem not to be able to decide whether the Holocaust is a Jewish lie, meant to gain world sympathy, or a mighty act. They regularly peddle anti-Jewish fabrications, such as the infamous *Protocols of the Elders of Zion* and the Nazis' *Handbook on the Jewish Question* (1935). The foreign minister of Syria, Mustafa Tlass, is the author of *The Matza of Zion*, which perpetuates the blood libel.

And speaking of blood libel, America's ally, Saudi Arabia, was discomfited briefly by the exposure of an article in one of its official dailies. In *Al-Riyadh*, Dr. Umayma Ahmad al-Jalahma of King Faisal University had a column entitled "The Jewish Holiday of Purim," holding that "the Jew must prepare very special pastries" for this event: specifically, pastries filled with the blood of non-Jewish adolescents. MEMRI spread this news, and many Western outlets picked it up, awake to something rotten in the "desert kingdom."

And pity Yasser Arafat, who now has MEMRI listening in. His ministers in the P.A. frequently reassure the populace that any move toward peace and negotiation is a mere tactic. One of those ministers, the late Faisal al-Husseini, had been considered by the West a Great Moderate Hope. Shortly before he died last summer, al-Husseini gave an interview to an Egyptian newspaper in which he described the Oslo accords as a Trojan Horse, elaborating on the metaphor with specificity and relish. That shook the "peace camp" in Israel. And Arafat himself is "caught" when he, for example, gives an interview to Egyptian TV. While under siege from the Israeli military, he vowed to take Jerusalem and said—repeatedly, almost as an incantation—"martyrs by the millions. To Jerusalem we march—martyrs by the millions." When his interviewer closed with, "We are with you in our hearts and souls and we pray for your safety and the safety of the Palestinian people," Arafat responded, "Man, don't wish me safety! Pray for me to attain martyrdom! Is there anything better than being martyred on this holy land? We are all seekers of martyrdom." Speaking to Abu Dhabi TV, Arafat said of Ariel Sharon, "True, he uses all the weapons prohibited by international law. True, he uses depleted uranium. True, he uses toxic gases . . . but we are steadfast." Such lies are "unhelpful," to use a President Bush adjective.

Wading or clicking through MEMRI's materials can be a depressing act, but it is also illusion-dispelling, and therefore constructive. This one institute is worth a hundred reality-twisting Middle Eastern Studies departments in the U.S. Furthermore, listening to Arabs—reading what they say in their newspapers, hearing what they say on television—is a way of taking them seriously: a way of not condescending to them, of admitting that they have useful things to tell us, one way or the other. Years ago, Solzhenitsyn exhorted, "Live not by lies." We might say, in these new circumstances, "Live not by ignorance about lies, either." Anyone still has the right to avert his eyes, of course. But no one can say that that is not a choice. **NR**

War Will Be War

No matter the era, no matter the weapons, the same old hell

VICTOR DAVIS HANSON

WAR is eternal. It is part of the human condition; it is, as Heraclitus wrote, "the father of us all." This is the first thing we must remember whenever discussion turns to "revolutions in military affairs." Some things will change, but the underlying laws and lessons that have shown themselves over millennia of warfare remain true about wars today—and wars tomorrow.

One of these key truths is that culture largely determines how people fight. The degree to which a society embraces freedom, secular rationalism, consensual government, and capitalism often determines—far more than its geography, climate, or population—whether its armies will be successful over the long term. Israel today is surrounded by a half-billion Middle Eastern Muslims—and has little to fear from their conventional militaries. Kuwait and Saudi Arabia have some of the most sophisticated weapons in the world; Saddam Hussein's Iraq still fields one of the largest armies; Iran boasts of spirited and fiery warriors. Israel—not to mention the United States—could vanquish them all. This appraisal is simply a statement of fact; it is neither triumphalist nor ethnocentric. It recognizes that if—for example—Iraq were to democratize, establish a Western system of free speech and inquiry, and embrace capitalism, then Iraq too, like Taiwan or South Korea, might well produce a military as good as Israel's.

Another key truth is that overwhelming force wins. Much has been made of the latest epidemic of terror and suicide bombing—as if hijackers with tiny budgets could overcome opponents who spend trillions on defense. But history proves otherwise: Frightful terrorists such as the Jewish *sicarii* of Roman times, the *écorcheurs* of the Hundred Years' War, and the Mahdi's dervishes in 19th-century Sudan usually petered out when they were faced with an overwhelming military force that was fighting for attractive ideas. Guerrillas, after all, require money, modern weapons, and bases in countries with friendly governments. Superpowers—such as imperial Rome and contemporary America—have the wherewithal to deny the terrorists access to much of this necessary support. September 11 revealed the complacency and carelessness of a democratic and affluent United States; but the relative absence of follow-up attacks—as America systematically eradicates al-Qaeda 7,000 miles away from its shores—suggests that a powerful state can more than handle stateless terrorists.

Mr. Hanson is the author of *Carnage and Culture: Landmark Battles in the Rise of Western Power*. He is also a regular columnist for National Review Online.

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WHY THE WEST HAS WON

It can do so because a Green Beret fighting terrorists in a cave can rely on a multibillion-dollar carrier battle group to bomb the terrorists; all he has to do is call in his GPS coordinates. This is the West's edge; and a chief military challenge of the 21st century, therefore, will be not terrorists per se, but the degree to which globalization brings the Western way of war to the much larger non-West.

During the Clinton administration, it was feared that exported weapons and pilfered expertise might soon bring China technological parity with America. But no one is yet sure whether the simple possession of sophisticated arms amounts to military equivalence—without the accompanying and more fundamental Western notions of discipline, market logistics, free-thinking command, and civilian supervision.

The anticipation that we shall all die at 90 in our sleep results in an array of social and cultural limitations placed upon the conditions of battle.

An F-16 fighter jet does not exist in a vacuum: A literate middle class is needed to produce mechanics who can service and modify it; freedom of scholarship is required if designers are going to update it; and an open society is necessary if the plane's sophisticated controls are going to be operated by competent, motivated, and individualistic pilots. As a rule, Israeli pilots proved deadly against Syrian jets in Lebanon—but Iraqis in advanced Russian aircraft would fly into Iran rather than fight American planes during the Gulf War.

Another example: There are probably plenty of Stinger missiles still hidden away in Afghanistan, but it has been nearly two decades since they were built—and Afghans have not modified or updated them to meet the intervening efforts to neutralize their effectiveness. In the short term, such subtle differences don't seem important. But in the long run—as we have seen in the Falklands, the Arab-Israeli wars, the Gulf War, and Afghanistan—they can trump numerical superiority, tactical genius, and heroism itself. There is a reason that Arafat, not Sharon, was surrounded in his bunker: It is not terrorists, but tanks—and the quality of men in them—that decide the preponderance of strength in the Middle East.

This is true not just in the Middle East but everywhere. The education system, therefore, and the preservation of an open society with a common Western culture are as valuable for our national security as our impressive military hardware. If the degree of Westernization in the next few years will often determine which armies win and lose, history also teaches us that with affluence and personal freedom comes a sense of laxity. The fact that a society can, in theory, defeat its enemies does not ensure that it will indeed do so. The unwillingness of affluent individuals to accept the responsibilities of defense is a common theme in Roman authors as diverse as Livy and Juvenal.

We see evidence of this sort of smugness in today's Europe, whose elites snicker at America's muscular response to September 11, whose taxpayers are unwilling to shoulder defense expenditures that might imperil their lavish social spending, and whose society has embraced a utopian view that war itself is simply outdated and can be eliminated by properly educated diplomats. (This is in stark contrast to such powerful countries as China and India, which have lately begun to adopt elements of the Western way of war: They maintain large defense establishments and have highly nationalistic citizenries that are not yet affluent or secure enough to trust that war is a relic of the past.)

The U.S. doesn't share Europe's anti-military bias, but it has its own problems. In a society in which a $50,000, three-ton, gas-guzzling monstrosity is required to transport safely a soccer mom and her twelve-year-old a few blocks to the practice field, it should come as no surprise that the military, too, has an "SUV syndrome": the embrace of expensive gadgetry and machines to ensure at all costs the safety of the individual combatant. The more that technology and science can ameliorate the human condition of the average American citizen, and prolong life by conquering the age-old banes of accident, disease, and famine, the more our cultures expect that our soldiers, too, will avoid wounds and death. The anticipation that we shall all die at 90 in our sleep—peacefully and without pain—results in an array of social and cultural limitations placed upon the conditions of battle. Societies that are affluent and free expect their soldiers to be able to kill thousands of enemies who are neither—and without incurring any deaths in the process. In Afghanistan, our military has chosen repeatedly to be wary about exposing our own men to danger—even when it meant that dozens of dangerous al-Qaeda and Taliban would escape.

WARS OF TOMORROW

Another eternal law of war is that the advantage keeps shifting, back and forth, between defense and offense. For centuries the methods of defense—whether stout ashlar-stone walls in the pre-catapult era, or knights in the age before the crossbow—trumped the effectiveness of most attackers. Today, however, destruction is easy—thanks to automatic weapons, precision bombing, and nuclear arsenals. But we may be witnessing the beginning of a shift back toward the defense: Breakthroughs in impenetrable light plastic and composite materials may well make our infantrymen as well protected against projectiles as yesterday's hoplites. We have seen this already in Afghanistan, where unharmed American soldiers have found spent slugs in their ultramodern flak vests.

For all the lethality of bunker-busters, daisy-cutters, and thermobaric bombs, reinforced caves—outfitted with space-age communications and supplies—seemed to protect al-Qaeda warriors well enough to force our designers back to the drawing boards to discover new ordnance that might bore through yards of such rock. On the intercontinental level, the once ridiculed concept of missile defense is no longer so ridiculous, and only a few years rather than decades away—raising the eerie and once inconceivable thought that a missile exchange might not result in horrendous carnage.

Tomorrow's wars will also prove that other historical rules remain valid. In the 1970s, for example, it was popular to scoff that carriers were simply floating targets that would "last

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about a minute" in a war with the Soviet Union. But any weapons system that is mobile, capable of sending out dozens of planes either to attack any type of enemy or to defend their mother ship, has timeless value. Despite its massive size, nuclear propulsion, electronics, and superior design, today's *Enterprise* is not all that different in form and function from its eponymous ancestor that fought at Midway. Why? Because a floating airstrip is a perfect and timeless weapon, one not dependent on volatile host countries; it is forever mobile, lethal at great distances, and eternally useful because it can be updated to reflect new technologies.

By the same token, submarines that twenty years ago were deemed the wave of future naval warfare have played a less prominent role in the post-Cold War era; their nuclear arsenals and near-miraculous stealth have proved of little value in the asymmetrical Gulf War or the air campaign against Serbia. It would, however, be a mistake to dismiss as superfluous any weapon that can strike without being seen: An array of conventionally armed submarines has already been modified to fire dozens of cruise missiles at distant inland targets, and there's no reason submarines could not be posted off the coast of Iran or North Korea with a full arsenal of anti-ballistic missiles to ensure that any nukes launched from those countries would be shot down a few thousand feet from their launch pads.

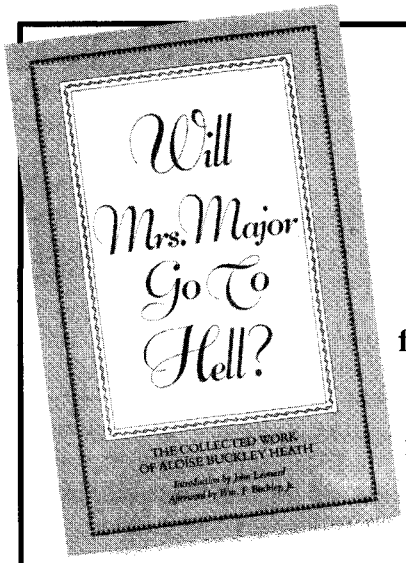
SOME ETERNAL RULES

The conventional wisdom of the pundits will always be evanescent. We must not be hoodwinked by their presentism into thinking that a new weapon or a new theory has "reinvented" war. *It cannot happen.* There will be new technologies and new approaches to fighting—but we need to see how they fit into age-old military realities.

The first such reality is that *war will not be outlawed or made obsolete.* This idea is a spasm of utopian thinking on the part of elites; its only result is to get millions of less educated and less affluent innocents killed. War cannot be eliminated entirely, only avoided by deterrence. "He who wishes peace should prepare for war," runs the ancient wisdom—and it remains true today. When America had a "Department of War," no more Americans were killed overseas than in the period after its name was changed to the less bellicose "Department of Defense"—reminding us that we can repackage and rename conflict through euphemism and good intentions, but never really alter its brutal essence.

The second key reality is that *war is not merely a material struggle, but more often a referendum on the spirit.* No nation has ever survived once its citizenry ceased to believe that its culture was worth saving. Themistocles' Athens beat back hundreds of thousands of Persians; yet little more than a century later Demosthenes addressed an Athens that had become far wealthier—and could not marshal a far larger population to repulse a few thousand Macedonians. Rome was larger, far more populous, and wealthier in A.D. 400 than in 146 B.C.—but far more unsure about what it meant to be a Roman, and confused about whether being Roman was better than, or merely different from, being German or Persian. France, which stopped the Germans at Verdun, a quarter-century later let them romp through the Ardennes in six weeks. The more complex, expensive, and lethal our weapons become, the more we must remember that they are still just tools, whose effectiveness depends on the discipline, training, and spirit of their users.

If the United States continues to believe that its culture is not only different from, but better than, those of the rest of the world—and if it believes that its own past pathologies were symptoms of the universal weaknesses of men, rather than lasting indictments of our civilization—we will remain as strong as we were during the wars of the 20th century. In contrast, if we ever come to believe that we are too healthy, too sophisticated, and too enlightened ever to risk our safety in something as primitive as war, then all the most sophisticated weapons of the 21st century will not save us when our hour of peril comes. And, as September 11 reminds us, that hour most surely will come. **NR**



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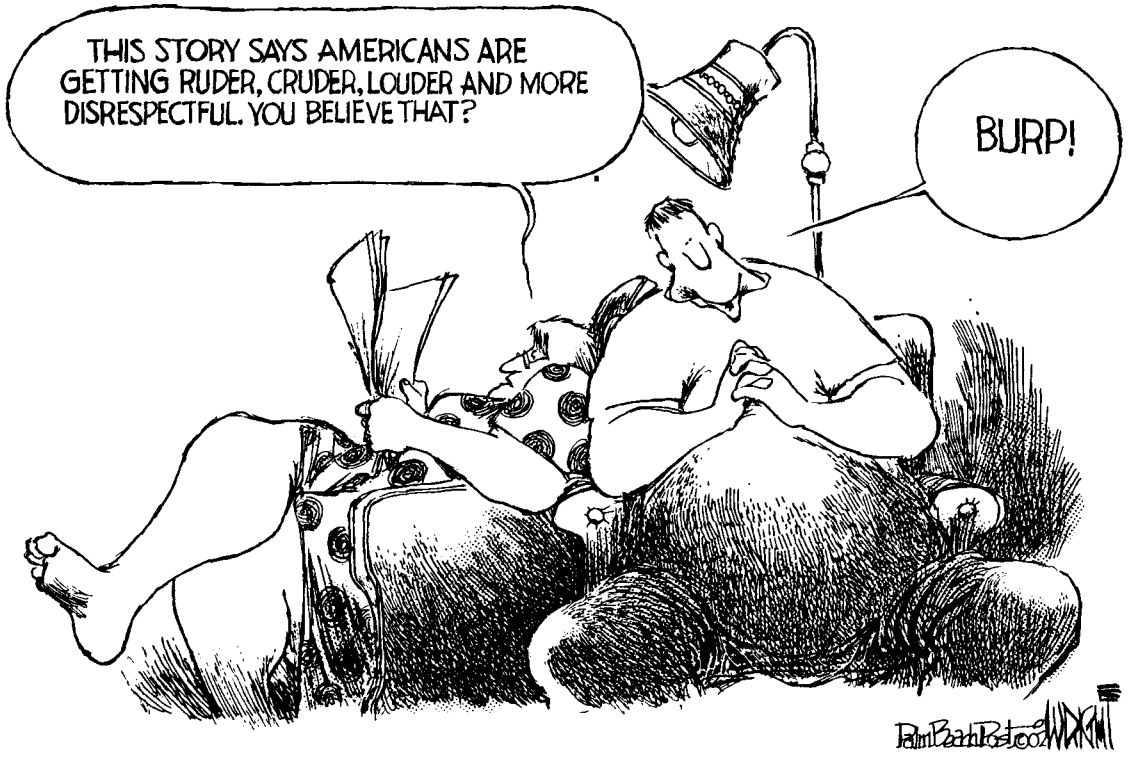

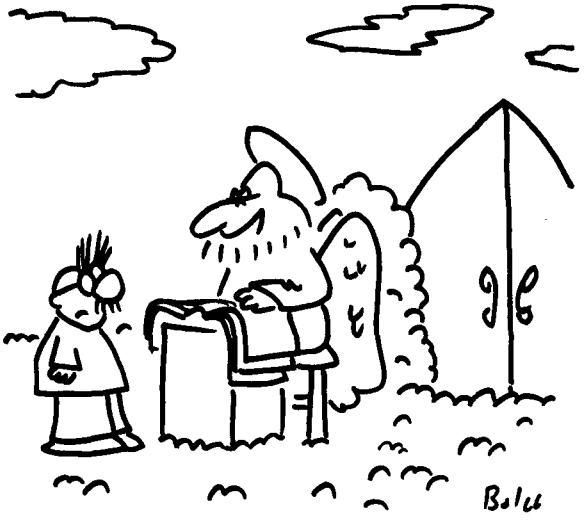

"Nice try, but we're omniscient up here, you know."

What's New on Campus?

When binge drinking will permit,
Palestinians are IT,
Drawing crowds with placards that
Beat the drums for Arafat.
On the Left Coast Berkeley leads;
All that's missing are the beads
And a roach to suck on, dude;
Israel, of course, gets booed.

—W. H. von Dreele

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"You'd have thought that somebody somewhere *would have a reasonable doubt."*

MAGICIAN WANTED

Some sleight-of-hand required;
Vaudeville experience
A plus; should be conversant
Stage-managing suspense;
No presto/change-o fakes, please;
Nuts need not volunteer.
Top dollar paid, but must make—
Poof!—Yasser disappear.

—W. H. VON DREELE

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THE LONG VIEW

By Rob Long

The Candidates' Diaries, April 2002

From John Kerry's diary:

. . . practiced looking concerned in the mirror a few times, until I got it down. I guess losing this war is too much to hope for, but . . .

From Dick Gephardt's diary:

. . . not actually to die, of course—she's my mother, after all, and nature dictates that there be a bond—but if she got sick or something, right around the New Hampshire primary, I could sort of do a "soldier on" type deal. Be a helluva story. "I dedicate my campaign to my mom" angle. Because let's face it: Bush'll get the stature vote and the foreign-affairs vote, so I've got to line up another angle. I'm testing a "trade, old people, and the environment" brew right now that works okay. No one's using that one—they're all stuck on the war thing, which as far as I can tell is going to be a big loser. I mean, we're going to win it, so it's not really very useful . . .

From Chris Dodd's diary:

. . . and aren't people tired of sex scandals? "When I was a single man, I dated a lot of women," should be enough. But just to be on the safe side, I made a list of all of the women I think might deserve some kind of pre-New Hampshire apology phone call, and we're working right now with Oracle to turn that into a searchable database that we can continually update on an as-needed basis, because I keep remembering new ones, and Ted Kennedy has lent me his diary . . .

From Al Gore's diary:

. . . just by shaving the damn beard off! Amazing! Overnight Al Gore went up three points in the "good feelings towards" category among women 35-54, and in two-child households in ex-urban areas with an average HHI of $63,000 (Al's target demo) Al Gore went up four whole percentage points in the "don't find him pathetic" subsection of the "what comes to your mind when you hear the name Al Gore?" section of the focus-group questionnaire. Better still, among teens and 20-34's the newly beardless Al Gore has shown dramatic improvement. The "looks like my high-school drama teacher" response that was so prevalent during the bearded period has vanished. A few respondents said that Al Gore reminded them of a "young, hip priest" but the rest gave positive responses. Add these new, more positive numbers to the response Al Gore received in Florida and the whole idea of an "Al Gore in 2004" candidacy makes a lot of sense. All in all, Al's doing great. He went through a rocky patch, let's be honest, and for a while there he really thought he was cracking up, losing his marbles and whatnot. But he held on. Held on tight. Took those bad feelings and buried them in a secret place deep inside him, where no one can ever go. No one can ever hurt Al again. No one can ever take what's his and make him feel small and bad. No one. No one. I'm here to protect him. I'm here to make sure no more bad things happen to him. Soon, soon, my precious Al, soon you'll show everyone. They'll all be sorry then, Al. Oh yes. Oh yes. They'll rue the day they made you mad, and they'll dress you in purple robes of silk and ermine and anoint you with . . .

From Tom Daschle's diary:

. . . kept giving me these creepy looks when we were down in Florida. Finally, I said to him, "Hey, Al, what's with the weird looks, man?" and he just kind of smiled. I have to admit, without the beard, he seems more likable. He seems more at peace with himself, too, which makes me wonder whether or not he's actually going to run. My political instincts are never wrong, and they're telling me that Al is just too happy right now and too comfortable in his own skin to want to go through a campaign again, which leaves the field wide open for . . .

From Al Sharpton's diary:

. . . in that Jewish way they have. Nevertheless, I think I accomplished the essential business of the morning, which was to position myself and my candidacy as a kind of referendum on the progress—or lack thereof—of civil rights in this country, and to maintain the terms of debate, which should be an agenda that we set based on our priorities, and not those of the so-called media. One of the reporters at the meeting kept pressing me about Israel, and you could just tell by his nose that he was one of those money-lending . . .

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Black and Tan Fantasy

MARK KRIKORIAN

Collision Course: The Strange Convergence of Affirmative Action and Immigration Policy in America, by Hugh Davis Graham (Oxford, 256 pp., $30)

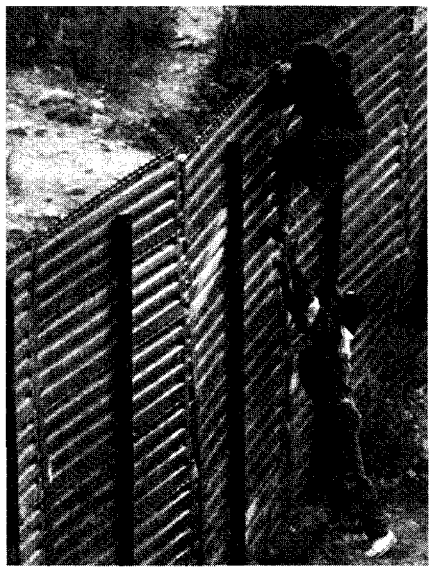
IN June 1965, President Johnson gave a speech at Howard University that laid the theoretical groundwork for the transformation of civil rights into affirmative action: "You do not take a person who, for years, has been hobbled by chains and liberate him, bring him up to the starting line of a race and then say, 'You're free to compete with all the others,' and justly believe that you have been completely fair."

A few years later, President Nixon turned the theory of minority preference into reality through the Philadelphia Plan, which—for the first time—imposed racial "goals and timetables" on government contractors, in an effort both to foster "black capitalism" and to split the Democrats' civil-rights/labor coalition.

The unspoken assumption underlying the birth of affirmative action was that it would be focused almost exclusively on black Americans. After all, the other minority groups listed among the "protected classes" covered by affirmative action—people of Latin American and Asian origin—were added by bureaucrats almost as afterthoughts; they were very few in number, nor were their numbers expected to grow.

What a difference an immigration wave makes.

Mr. Krikorian is executive director of the Center for Immigration Studies.



Corbis/David & Peter Turnley

On the border

The interaction of racial preferences and the immigration boom is the subject of this new book by Hugh Davis Graham, a Vanderbilt historian who died in March, shortly after completing it. Graham, whose previous books include *The Civil Rights Era* and *Civil Rights and the Presidency*, here concisely traces the separate paths of the Civil Rights Act of 1964 and the Immigration Act of 1965—and examines the wreck when their progeny collided in the 1980s.

Both pieces of legislation were outgrowths of the civil rights movement's appeal to the better angels of America's nature: They argued for colorblindness in public policy. The Civil Rights Act outlawed racial discrimination in employment and public accommodations (followed by the Voting Rights Act a year later), while the Immigration Act eliminated ethnic distinctions we had been making among prospective newcomers since 1921. Both acts promised a better, colorblind America that would heal the wounds of the past; the promise of neither was fulfilled.

Contrary to the repeated assurances of civil rights champions, the ideology of colorblindness morphed into the explicitly racialist policies of what Graham calls "hard" affirmative action. Meanwhile, the immigration changes of 1965, which were supposed simply to remove the embarrassing national-origins quotas without increasing immigration, instead sparked the greatest immigration wave in American history—made up overwhelmingly of people who would in turn be covered by the new affirmative-action policies.

Collision Course is the first book to address this topic, and is long overdue. I hope I'm not boasting (okay, I'm boasting) when I point out that a piece I wrote for the *Christian Science Monitor* in 1989 was perhaps the first time anyone pointed out in print the conflict between affirmative action and immigration. The only reporter to explore the issue was the underappreciated Jonathan Tilove of the Newhouse News Service in 1993, and the only previous extended examination was a 1995 paper by James S. Robb (which he summarized in a NATIONAL REVIEW article in November of that year). Other than that, though, no one has touched this issue with a ten-foot pole: The collision between affirmative action and immigration seems to have given rise to cognitive dissonance in the media and the professoriate, which instinctively support both policies. Graham points out that neither President Clinton's 1995 review of affirmative-action policies nor his National Dialogue on Race discussed the issue; nor did the National Academy of Sciences' magisterial examination of immigration; nor did the U.S. Commission on Immigration Reform's final report in 1997.

But the most contemptible silence of all comes from the black leadership. Leaving aside the question of whether hard affirmative action actually helps blacks (the civil rights groups obviously answer "yes"), there's no question that America's black leadership has known for more than 20 years that affirmative

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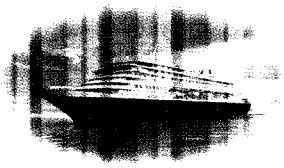

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Tues/Nov. 19	Loreto	7:00AM	5:00PM	
Wed/Nov. 20	Pichilingue/La Paz	8:00AM	6:00PM	evening cocktail reception
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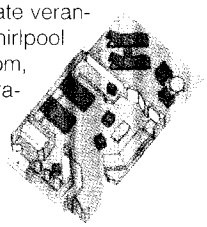

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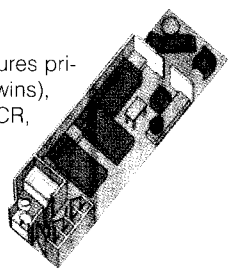

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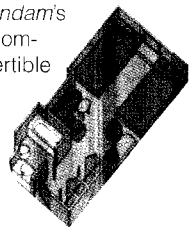

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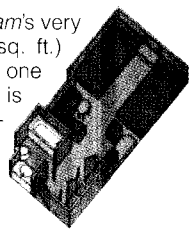

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LA PAZ/PICHILINGUE: "La Paz," says *Frommer's*, "means 'peace,' and the feeling seems to float on the ocean breezes" here. It "remains slow-paced and relaxed . . . an easy-going sophisticated city and the guardian of 'old Baja' atmosphere, with beautiful deserted beaches just minutes away that compliment the lively beach and malecón that fronts the town center." Best known from John Steinbeck's *The Pearl*, La Paz—a haven for kayaking, fishing, and diving (you can even swim with sea lions off Espíritu Santo and Los Islotes)—is "the undisputed adventure capital of Baja."

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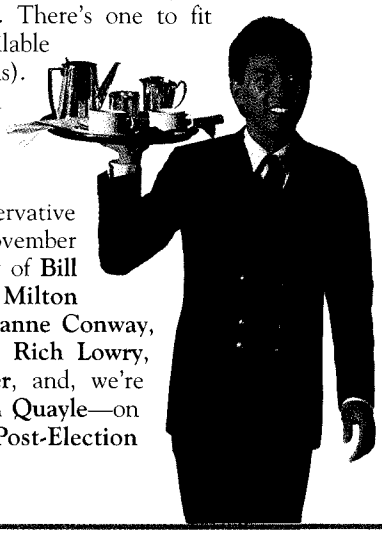

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Please fill out application completely and mail with deposit check or fax with credit-card information. One application per cabin. If you want more than one cabin, make copies of this application. For questions call The Cruise Authority at 800-707-1634.

Personal

Shirt size (M/L/XL)

Name #1 (full legal name) + Nickname

Shirt size (M/L/XL)

Name #2 (full legal name) + Nickname

Names #3 & #4 (if taking others in your cabin)

Street Mailing Address

( )

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Special Information (medical conditions, celebrating anniversary, etc.)

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A deposit of $700 per cabin is due with this application. Cabins and categories are available on a first come, first served basis. *Suites are limited!*

☐ My deposit of $350 per person is included.
(Make checks payable to "National Review Cruise")

☐ Charge to: AmEx ☐ Visa ☐ MasterCard ☐ Discover

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Information and price quote on Cancellation Fee Waiver/Medical Insurance will accompany your statement. Cancellation Penalty Schedule follows (cancellations must be received in writing by the date indicated):

PRIOR *to June 14, 2002*	*$50 per person*	
June 14, 2002 to Augus16, 2002	*$350 per person*	
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Cruise

(All rates are per person, double occupancy, and include all port charges and taxes, all gratuities, meals, entertainment, and *National Review* activities. Cruise-only rates include all of above except airfare and transfers. Failure to appear for embarkation for any reason constitutes a cancellation subject to full penalties. Personal items not included.)

PLEASE CHECK ALL APPLICABLE BOXES!

I. CABIN CATEGORY *(see list and prices on previous page)*

First cabin category choice:_____ Second cabin category choice:_____

Bedding: Beds made up as ☐ Twin ☐ King/Queen

BOOKING SINGLE? ☐ Please try to match me with a roommate. (My age: ____)

II. AIR/TRANSFER PACKAGES

☐ We will provide our own roundtrip air and transfers to and from San Diego.
☐ Include air with our package from _____ (see list below).
☐ We need to purchase transfers from the airport to the ship at $20 per person.

III. GENERAL INFORMATION

CITIZENSHIP: Is everyone a U.S. citizen? ☐ Yes ☐ No
If No, indicate citizenship: _____
DINING: I wish to dine with _____

DINNER: ☐ 8:15PM ☐ 6:15PM (conflicts with dining with speakers/events)

IV. PRE- AND POST-CRUISE TOUR PACKAGES

☐ Please send me information on pre-/post-cruise packages in San Diego.

Important!

Everyone cruising will be required to bring either a valid passport OR a certified birth certificate (with raised seal!), plus photo ID. Failure to do so may result in being denied boarding of the *Ryndam*. Children do not require photo ID.

Responsibility: Notice is hereby given that the cruise advertised herein, including all tickets, vouchers and coupons issued and all arrangements for transportation or conveyance or for hotel or lodging or for sightseeing services are made by H20 Ltd. d/b/a The Cruise Authority (TCA) on behalf of National Review, as agency for Holland America Line (HAL), and/or service providers and/or suppliers providing services necessary for operation of the tour upon the express condition that TCA shall not be liable for injury, damage, loss, accident, delay or irregularity to any tour participant or his or her property that may result from any act or omission of any company, contractor or employee thereof providing services in connection with the tour, including but not limited to transportation, lodging, food and beverage, entertainment, sightseeing, luggage handling and tour guiding. Furthermore, TCA cannot be held responsible for delays or costs incurred resulting from weather and road connections, breakdowns, strikes, riots, acts of God, authority of law or other circumstances beyond its control. In the event that a participant be entitled to a refund of monies paid, TCA will not be liable in excess of amount paid. TCA reserves the right to decline any persons as a tour participant at any time. TCA is not responsible for price increases imposed by HAL and/or service providers. Such increases may be implemented prior to deposit received. TCA is not responsible for breach of contract or any intentional or careless actions or omissions on the part of HAL and/or service providers, such as suppliers of tours or other services used or obtained on or at the time of the cruise or shore excursions, which result in any loss, damage, delay or injury to you or your travel companions or group members. TCA does not guarantee any of such suppliers rates, booking or reservations and TCA shall not be responsible for any social or labor unrest, mechanical or construction difficulties, diseases, local laws, climate conditions, abnormal conditions or developments or any other actions, omissions or conditions outside of TCA's control. TCA, nor National Review shall be responsible for the accessibility, appearance, actions or decisions of those individuals promoted for this cruise. By embarking upon his or her travel, the traveler voluntarily assumes all risks, and is advised to obtain appropriate insurance coverage against them. Retention of tickets, reservations, or package after issuance shall constitute a consent to the above and an agreement on your part to convey the contents hereof to your travel companions.

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AL	Birmingham	669	FL	Jacksonville	549	KS	Wichita	549	MO	Springfield	619	NC	Raleigh/Durham	689	SC	Columbia	689	VA	Richmond	689
	Huntsville	679		Miami	599	KY	Lexington	619		St. Louis	559	OK	Oklahoma City	619		Greenville	689		Roanoke	689
	Mobile	599		Orlando	599		Louisville	619	MT	Billings	519		Tulsa	619	TX	Amarillo	619	WA	Seattle	379
AR	Little Rock	549		Pensacola	689	LA	Baton Rouge	619	NE	Omaha	619	OH	Akron	619		Austin	559		Spokane	479
AZ	Phoenix	289		Tampa	609		New Orleans	549	NV	Las Vegas	309		Cincinnati	549		Corpus Christi	549	WI	Madison	619
	Tucson	289	GA	Augusta	689		Shreveport	619		Reno	289		Cleveland	559		Dallas/Ft. Worth	539		Milwaukee	549
CA	Fresno	319		Atlanta	599	ME	Bangor	689	NJ	Newark	609		Columbus	539		El Paso	549			
	Los Angeles	259	HI	Honolulu	809		Portland	689	NM	Albuquerque	519		Dayton	619		Houston (IAH)	539		CANADA ($USD)	
	Oakland	289	ID	Boise	519	MD	Baltimore	599	NY	Albany	689		Toledo	619		Lubbock	619		Calgary	589
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	San Francisco	289		Peoria	619		Worcester	689		Buffalo	679		Portland	379		San Antonio	539		Montreal	669
	San Jose	289		Springfield	619	MI	Detroit	549		New York	609	PA	Allentown	609	TN	Chattanooga	619		Ottawa	679
CO	Col. Springs	519	IN	Evansville	619		Grand Rapids	619		Rochester	689		Harrisburg	689		Knoxville	619		Quebec	719
	Denver	529		Ft. Wayne	619	MN	Mnpls/St. Paul	559		Syracuse	6859		Philadelphia	599		Memphis	619		Toronto	659
CT	Hartford	609		Indianapolis	549		Rochester	619	NC	Asheville	679		Pittsburgh	599		Nashville	619		Vancouver	439
DC	Washington	609	IA	Cedar Rapids	619	MS	Jackson	669		Charlotte	679	RI	Providence	689	UT	Salt Lake City	459		Victoria	559
FL	Fort Lauderdale	609		Des Moines	559	MO	Kansas City	549		Greensboro	689	SC	Charleston	689	VA	Norfolk	669		Winnipeg	619

IMPORTANT NOTES: 1. These air add-ons apply to the cruise or cruise + pre- or post-cruise package. All transfers for air/sea passengers are included. 2. Should you elect to provide your own air transportation, note that transfers from the airport to the Ryndam (Port of San Diego near downtown) are not included; the distance from airport to cruise ship is very close. Schedule your arrival in San Diego leaving plenty of time for flight delay! You should arrive in San Diego no later than 2:00pm on November 16th. Your return flight from San Diego should not be arranged before 11:00am on November 23rd. 3. Should you wish to deviate your air from the "standard" schedule, Holland America Line charges $50pp for this service. All requests must be sent in writing to The Cruise Authority. Air deviation fees are non-refundable. 4. Any special seat assignments or other requests must be made directly with the participating air carrier. You will receive your air schedule approximately 30 days prior to departure date. 5. Transfers are available for purchase from the San Diego airport for $20 per person, and must be arranged for in advance via The Cruise Authority.

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action's black-centered rationale—as compensation for slavery and Jim Crow—is undermined by mass immigration. And yet they've kept supporting high levels of immigration anyway, in order to maintain a people-of-color coalition with the Hispanic Caucus and groups like the National Council of La Raza.

In 1980, the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission—then chaired by Eleanor Holmes Norton—filed a lawsuit against a Chicago manufacturing firm specifically to prevent blacks from being crowded out by immigrants. It was clear, at that point, that the affirmative-action apparatus recognized the threat immigration posed to the perceived interests of blacks. The EEOC lost the lawsuit, and a subsequent one along the same lines; this ended what Graham calls a "campaign to protect black workers from the surging tides of immigrant competition." Since then, black leaders seem to have given up on their ostensible constituents.

And if the black leadership wanted to abandon its constituents, business wasn't going to stand in its way. One of Graham's most important insights is that business at first acceded to affirmative action as a way to avoid litigation with government, but eventually came to embrace it as a way to avoid hiring blacks: If minority status is fungible—any kind of minority counts toward the "goals and timetables"—then business could avoid government and activist-group attention and avoid hiring blacks simply by hiring immigrants instead. The law, Graham says, "opened a window of opportunity for businesses, under the banner of diversity, to hire Hispanic and Asian immigrants in preference to native-born black workers."

Without mass immigration, this would not have been possible, since in 1965 there weren't enough of the other minorities to make a difference. But after the admission of more than 26 million new immigrants eligible for affirmative action, there are now more Hispanics than blacks, and one-third as many Asians as blacks. And business has shown a clear preference for immigrant workers—as confirmed by, for instance, William Julius Wilson's surveys of Chicago-area employers in the late 1980s.

Graham provides a good summary of the evolution of immigration policy and politics, and his analysis of the political and bureaucratic logic behind the Nixon administration's creation of hard affirmative action makes for enlightening reading. But perhaps most interesting is his description of the ways various agencies decided who would fit the definition of "minority." Anti-discrimination law began to develop in the 1940s, at first not mentioning any particular groups at all, merely prohibiting discrimination based on race, color, religion, or national origin. The singling out of individual groups began with the need to put human faces on the real abuses taking place, in order to mobilize opposition to them: "Discrimination 'on account of' race and national origin was an abstract sin. Segregating black Americans, denying them the vote, and murdering civil-rights workers were palpable offenses that stirred the emotions and fueled reform."

Thus, starting in the 1950s, government contractors had to show they weren't discriminating—by reporting how their employees were distributed by various categories. Someone, therefore, had to come up with the categories. But "since the concept of group rights was alien to the civil-rights bureaucracy until the end of the 1960s," Graham writes, "the career civil servants designing survey forms . . . had no notion that their rather amateurish efforts would have such far-reaching consequences." In one early survey "Negro" was the only category contractors were obliged to report, but the other possible groups included "Spanish-Americans, Orientals, Indians, Jews, Puerto Ricans, etc." (Puerto Ricans apparently were not "Spanish-Americans.")

Graham recounts that "once minority groups started getting named on the government's civil-rights compliance forms, the ethnic organizations kicked into play." The rest, as they say, is history. Hispanic lobbying got JFK to add "Spanish-Americans" to the obligatory-reporting category. Then a campaign led by the Japanese American Citizens League got "Orientals" added to the obligatory list. Without lobbying, American Indians were added, and Jews were dropped.

So the four "official" minority designations we now take for granted were essentially made up by civil servants preparing questionnaires for government contractors. This then led to an almost comical procession of groups trying to get on the gravy train. Hasidic Jews petitioned the Small Business Administration for participation in minority set-asides, but were rejected as a religious group. Then Asian Indians petitioned, and were accepted, bringing the Pakistanis and Bangladeshis in their wake. Later, an Indonesian woman, initially rejected, finally mastered the lingo and argued in her appeal that Indonesian Americans "have suffered economic deprivation" and "the chronic effects of discriminatory practices for a very long time"—this despite the fact that there were only a handful of Indonesian immigrants in the U.S., and they were wealthier and better educated than native-born Americans. Iranians, however, were rejected, apparently because "the chronic effects of discriminatory practices" stopped at the Pakistani border; Graham wryly remarks that "the SBA's ethnocultural line-drawing at the Khyber Pass, coming from an agency not noted for this expertise, made no sense in terms either of Middle Eastern cultural anthropol-

BENJAMIN,
SON OF THE RIGHT HAND

How many years had I been musing
On that mind-bending Zen koan,
"The Sound Of One Hand Clapping,"
When you, from a grown man's height,
Though not yet a man,
Heard us old folks puzzling over it?

You smiled with that calm delight
Only the wise can feel and understand.
Standing tall, you lifted your right hand,
Palm up, the way they do in Italy
When calling "Ciao!" to children.

Tapping your fingertips upon the palm,
You clapped one hand so softly
We bowed our heads to listen.

—DANIEL MARK EPSTEIN

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ogy or of American history and law."

And there's plenty more—like the brothers who immigrated from Portugal (Portugal!) and were able to get themselves certified as minorities in order to dominate Washington, D.C.'s road and sewer contracts; and the notorious Fanjul family, multimillionaire Cuban immigrants with Spanish passports, who made use of set-aside programs to build a minority business enterprise in securities underwriting.

So what has been the result of this collision? Graham believes that "immigration emerged greatly strengthened and affirmative action significantly, perhaps even mortally, weakened." He quotes R. Gaull Silberman, then vice chairman of the EEOC, saying in 1993 that immigrant participation is "the ultimate nightmare of affirmative action. It is its Achilles heel." Many on the right might applaud this, especially those who think immigration is a boon anyway: We get immigrants, and destroy affirmative action to boot!

■

The colorblind ideal of civil rights was probably going to turn into racialized affirmative action no matter what.

■

But I think Graham is wrong on this point. The colorblind ideal of civil rights was probably going to turn into racialized affirmative action no matter what; it was immigration, by providing nonblack "minorities" to hire, that persuaded business to embrace affirmative action in a way that would not have happened otherwise (and thus removed any urgency Republican politicians might have felt to oppose racial quotas). Rather than weaken affirmative action, immigration has helped transform it from the original idea of temporary compensation for the lingering consequences of slavery to a vehicle for generalized and permanent diversity management. Immigration has thus helped promote a thoroughgoing racialization of every workplace, every school, every church, every civic club, every institution of American life.

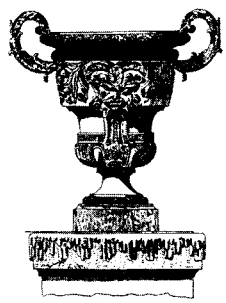
"Collision course," indeed. **NR**

A Confederacy Of . . . ?

JAY WINIK

Look Away! A History of the Confederate States of America, by William C. Davis (Free Press, 496 pp., $35)

In 1862, as England and France weighed the great question of whether to recognize the fledgling Confederacy, William Gladstone—then Chancellor of the Exchequer—proclaimed: "Jefferson Davis and other leaders of the South have made an army; they are making, it appears, a navy; and they have made what is more than either, they have made a nation." What Gladstone didn't say—but could have—was that this was all being done under the direst of circumstances, in the throes of total war. Consider the objective obstacles alone. In 1861, the South fell short in every precious index of military power: It had less than one half of the North's population and of its crucial railroad mileage, less than one third of its bank capital, and less than one tenth of its manufacturing output. And, upon secession, it would somehow have to create a constitution, come up with a national currency, forge a national government, fashion a viable industrial base—and then fight a war.



It did indeed. At the height of its power, the Confederacy's accomplishments were, by many measures, remarkable. It would stave off the mightiest army on the planet for four long years; its vaunted general-in-chief, Robert E. Lee, would enjoy fame around the globe; and from the lush, green hills of Virginia to the bayous of Louisiana and the plains of Texas, its geography would stretch some 750,000 miles—larger than all of France and England combined, as large as all of Russia west of Moscow, and double the size of the original thirteen United States. All this occurred in the face of—and in spite of—the fundamental stain of slavery.

Yet, as William Davis goes to great pains to note in his new book—an account of the Confederate national experience beyond the battlefield—there was a very different face to the Confederacy as well. It is the face of a deprived and rancorous home front: the slaves, farmers, planters, women, and governors all struggling to come to grips with the day-to-day trials of a nascent democracy amid the tribulations of war. And, Davis maintains, the new Confederate nation was not a pretty picture. For starters, consider how he describes some Confederate leaders, particularly the early secessionists and the landed "oligarchs": Some are "outrageous," promulgating "nonsense" or "ridiculous rationalizations"; others are "hyperbolic," "arrogant," and guilty of "hypocrisy, demagoguery, and outright lying"; still others, governors and legislators alike, are men of "puny stature." Davis, a prolific author and editor of some dozen books on the Civil War, a number of them very fine ones, is not one to mince words: His premise appears to be that the Confederacy was at best a half-empty glass, doomed from the outset.

This will continue to be debated, perhaps forever; yet Davis's fundamental point is an important and valid one. Born out of conflict, the Confederate nation was riven from Day One by endless bitter disputes and savage factional fighting. One of the first problems for the South was slavery itself, since the preservation of the "peculiar institution" was interwoven into every part of Confederate society. Davis writes that early in the war, apologists for slavery put a great deal of energy into constructing "a mountain of sophistries," disguised as science, to justify slavery as a positive good. Tracts on the proper care and management of slaves were widely disseminated ("Blacks should be housed under shade

Mr. Winik is the author of *April 1865: The Month That Saved America*.

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trees, close to good water, and with good ventilation"), as were guidelines for overseers ("Working adults must have bacon, molasses, lots of bread, and coffee in the morning"; "The more pride and self respect you can instill in them, the better they will behave"). But as more and more white men left their households to go to war, the institution began to come apart: Many slaves would not work. Some turned to plunder and foraging; others fled behind Yankee lines. And as conscription cleaned out virtually all the white men in a number of communities, fear of slave insurrections became widespread across many quarters of the South.

Davis notes that "one of the rudest awakenings suffered by the Confederates was the disillusionment of discovering just how quickly their slaves could turn on them." But even here, the picture was mixed. Across the Confederacy there were also blacks, slave and free, who wanted to support the new nation—including a free black descended from one of George Washington's slaves. And by the war's end, in a most stunning twist, the Confederacy sought to turn slavery from its Achilles heel to its savior, undertaking dramatic plans to enlist large numbers of blacks, with the promise of freedom.

Among Davis's more intriguing snapshots of the war are his depictions of the fate of the women, the wives and mothers left behind to manage the households. The image endures, in the national memory, of the defiant southern woman as ardent patriot, her voice buttery and blood-hot ("Mary Lou Byrd is for the *ladies fighting*," declared one soldier, "she is exceedingly anxious to kill Lincoln!"); less attention, however, has been paid to their sacrifices. And they were considerable: As the war ground on, prices skyrocketed, with a toothbrush costing a whopping $5; shortages of food and other goods were rampant (quipped one southerner, "We are now proving our loyalty by starvation"); petty thieves and marauders preyed on the weak; refugees were widespread; slaves were out of control, or deserted, or became a burden simply because they constituted yet more mouths to feed; and in many parts of the Confederacy, the legal system all but collapsed.

A cult of sacrifice emerged, but Davis writes that over time, as the resources of the Confederacy were increasingly overstrained, near anarchy broke out in pockets across the country. Many women wrote heartrending letters asking their husbands and sons to come home. One wife gave voice to a common lament: "What am I to do with only daughters and old negroes and children at home?"

■

More often than not, their political system was a hindrance, not a help.

■

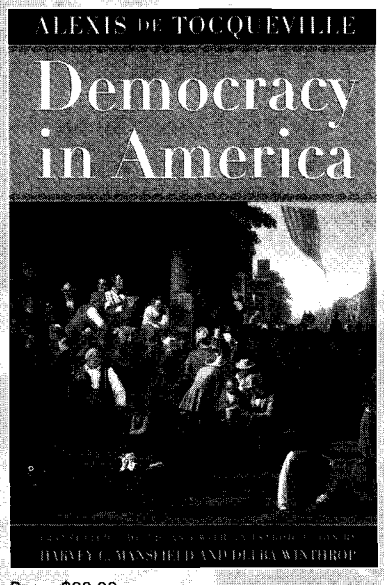
The southerners coped as best they could, with wits and will—but more often than not, their political system was a hindrance, not a help. According to Davis (though this point, too, can and will be debated), most looked not to the federal government in Richmond, but to their governors and legislators as "guardians" of their security. And it is true that for many of the South's leaders, the rights of the states were more important than the Confederacy itself; in this regard, the Confederacy repeated the mistakes of the early American republic, to which it looked for inspiration. With melancholy regularity, the government in Richmond wrangled with the states over national conscription, over impressment, over exemptions, over confiscatory taxation, over suspension of civil liberties and habeas corpus, over command of military forces, and over centralized economic management. A martyr to its own ideology of states' rights, the Confederacy was saddled with a political system wholly unsuited to the grim challenge of war. And much to the chagrin of many governors, Confederate president Jefferson Davis—like George Washington in the Revolutionary War—increasingly came to embrace the tenets of a centralized national state.

Inevitably, much of the blame for southern disappointments came to rest on Jefferson Davis himself. He was autocratic, short-tempered, and fre-

ALEXIS DE TOCQUEVILLE

Democracy in America

Translated, edited, and with an Introduction by
Harvey C. Mansfield and **Delba Winthrop**



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quently ill. He provoked controversy with his military appointments, cabinet nominations, military policy, and domestic policy; he engaged in too many protracted quarrels, feuding with General Joe Johnston, as well as with senators and his own cabinet. Finally, Davis was severely hampered by the South's decision to reject organized political parties: Where Abraham Lincoln had fractious Republicans and Democrats, Davis got the worst of all worlds—a surfeit of opposition arising out of jealousy, rivalry, and ambition, without any organized party structure to cultivate discipline and ensure partisan loyalty. One practical measure of Davis's lack of effectiveness was that he vetoed 38 bills, and all but one was overridden; Lincoln, meanwhile, had to use the veto (or pocket veto) only seven times, and in each case it stuck. The famous diarist Mary Chesnut explained the Confederate predicament as follows: "What a pity—these men have brought old hatreds & grudges & spites from the old Union."

This book will join Emory Thomas's *Confederate Nation* as an important resource for students of the Civil War South. And echoing David Herbert Donald's famous essay, "Died of Democracy," Davis makes a convincing case that the Confederacy at home, much like its northern counterpart, was often dangerously divided, if not at war with itself. But having said this, it's important not to overstate the conclusions: Some hard questions linger. How did such a dysfunctional and struggling Confederacy manage to sustain itself for so long? How did it hold off the Union armies for four years, and at various points actually seem as if it could win the war (or at least not lose it, which amounted to the same thing)? How, in spite of all its internal divisions, did the Confederacy produce such leaders as Robert E. Lee, such fighters as Stonewall Jackson, and ordinary soldiers who fought so long and so bravely? How did it create an industry, a navy, and—however fleetingly—a separate nation that continues to enthrall many to this day?

If one half of the Confederate glass was empty, the other half was indeed full—but that, it seems, is another story. **NR**

Unrequited Love

DICK MORRIS

The Natural: The Misunderstood Presidency of Bill Clinton, by Joe Klein (Doubleday, 230 pp., $22.95)

JOE KLEIN's latest book is wrong from the very beginning. Usually a title page does not trigger an argument, but who can agree even with the title of this maudlin and boring memoir of the Clinton years? There was nothing remotely natural about Clinton and his presidency, nor was he misunderstood. In fact, with the possible exception of Klein himself, Americans quite clearly understood his lack of character by the end of his torrid terms in office.

How can Klein call this politician—who cost his party control of Congress for at least eight years, led it to innumerable defeats in gubernatorial and state legislative races, and cost it the presidency in 2000—a "natural"? If by "natural" he means that Clinton survived his 1996 reelection campaign, he seems to ignore the fact that the retroactive slogan of that victory might well be *Après ceci, le déluge*.

Bill Clinton was not natural at anything. He was the exact opposite: a contrived, artificial, highly scripted, poll-driven politician whose warm empathy with strangers in public was in stark contrast to his moody, self-involved crankiness in private. He is a man of abysmally low personal character who regards the truth—with splendid impartiality—as merely one of several options to consider before he speaks.

Klein does not add anything new or interesting to the public debate about the Clinton presidency. For the most part, his book is a hodgepodge of stories from earlier books and articles. Also included—as if it mistakenly landed here—is a disconnected 20-page analysis of the effects of Watergate.

The writing is uninspiring, lacking in new insights, and—too often—skewed to favor the agendas and reputations of his self-aggrandizing sources. Hence we are subjected to pages of fluff about Ira Magaziner and Sandy Berger; these encomiums to the author's sources are littered throughout the book like ads in a dinner program.

The book also suffers from a disproportionate focus on the first two years of the Clinton administration: By the time Klein reaches the end of 1994 the book is more than half finished. He devotes barely a paragraph to impeachment amid an almost cursory glance at the second Clinton term. Perhaps Klein started to write a book three or four times its length but, in anticipation of the reader, lost interest midway.

For Joe Klein, Clinton is still the young man who burst into our consciousness, full of potential, in 1992: He holds, forever, the promise of that moment. Like the figures on Keats's Grecian Urn, he never ages. But, he has, in fact, aged: For most Americans that admirable young man has been tarnished beyond recognition by his immature sexuality and criminal cover-up in the Oval Office. His reputation for idealism has been besmirched by the blatant selling of pardons and commutations to the likes of Marc Rich and convicted drug dealer Carlos Vignali in return for contributions to his slush-fund library. Klein skips over all of this.

He blandly quotes Clinton as saying, about a month before he left office, "You know I'm not about money." How then to account for Clinton's appropriation of furniture from the White House? The his-and-hers gift solicitations of hundreds of thousands of dollars' worth of furniture, china, and silver? The fabulously lucrative book deals?

Every time Klein writes about Clinton, there is the subtext of the unrequited lover. Like Robert Reich, he is forever feeling spurned because his adoration was not returned: "Alas, my Love! ye do me wrong / To cast me off discourteously." To maintain his dignity, he disguises his emotions by speaking about Clinton's failure to live up to his poten-

Mr. Morris, president of Vote.com, is the author of the new book *Power Plays*.

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tial; what he really means is Clinton's refusal to do what Joe Klein wanted.

But Klein's book does, in its way, make a real contribution to an understanding of the Clinton record. Taking the former president at his word, Klein faithfully recounts the bite-sized achievements of Clinton's presidency. The list grows more trivial by the day as we see it framed by the events of 9/11 and the truly dangerous world Clinton left behind for us to cope with. Somehow, reading about educational standards and balanced budgets with eyes that have seen corporate executives jumping from a burning Trade Center tower no longer impresses. Even the most formidable achievement of Clinton's tenure, his signing of welfare reform, seems a bit dated as we contemplate the new world into which we have been plunged.

■

We may come to view Clinton as a latter-day McKinley: a man who led us in quieter times.

■

After all is said, Bill Clinton may not go down in history as immoral or evil or idealistic or constructive. He may neither justify the praise nor the epithets with which he has been showered. Perhaps he will just be seen as last century's president. We may come to view him as a latter-day Cleveland or McKinley: a man who led us in quieter times, when issues mattered less and threats were more remote. Just as Cleveland and McKinley focused on quaint little issues like the tariff, currency inflation, and imperialism before Theodore Roosevelt emerged to address the economic exploitation and class inequality that were to engage the attention of 20th-century presidents, Clinton too may come to be seen merely as a man from a simpler time. He was the last president before we realized the global threat posed by terrorism, and before we got serious about the dangers posed by climate change and the species-altering challenge of genetic engineering. His may be seen as a presidency of a time when presidents didn't much matter. **NR**

Margin of Error

RAMESH PONNURU

Mobocracy: How the Media's Obsession with Polling Twists the News, Alters Elections, and Undermines Democracy, by Matthew Robinson (Prima, 377 pp., $24.95)

POLLS can provide useful information, but only if readers understand their limitations. The caveat is increasingly important as the media take polls with increasing frequency and decreasing quality. Where reporters once used polls in their stories, the polls now often make headlines themselves. But reporters rarely provide the information necessary to weigh the worth of poll results.

That failure and its consequences are the subject of Matthew Robinson's book. The problem he identifies is not merely the ubiquity of polling, but what happens when bad polls combine with sloppy or biased reporting.

In early 2001, for example, several media outlets reported that a *Newsweek* poll had found that a plurality (41 percent) of the public thought the Senate should reject John Ashcroft's nomination as attorney general. Few of these outlets reported how *Newsweek* had reached this conclusion: by asking respondents, "Do you think Congress should approve Bush's choice of John Ashcroft for Attorney General, or reject Ashcroft as too far to the right on issues like abortion, drugs, and gun control to be an effective Attorney General?" It was a loaded question. Only the charge against Ashcroft was provided. When ABC ran a poll mentioning only that Bush had nominated Ashcroft, it found 54 percent support for his confirmation. A poll is only as good as its wording.

Readers also need to know the order in which the questions were asked. An unbiased question can get skewed results if the previous question was loaded.

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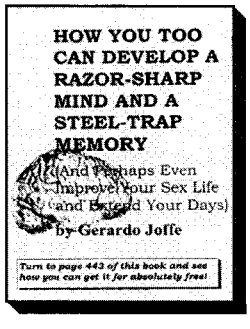
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It's also important to know who was polled. When Al Gore picked Joe Lieberman as his running mate, George W. Bush's lead over him dropped from 17 points to 2 points in one day. But the shift was illusory. Gallup had switched from questioning only "likely voters" in the 17-point poll to questioning "registered voters." Among registered voters, Republicans are more *likely* to vote than Democrats; hence the discrepancy. Within a week, a Gallup poll confirmed that even post-Lieberman, Bush had a 16-point lead among likely voters.

As Robinson writes, lazy reporting on Gallup polls produced a similar effect in 1992. There are still Republicans who insist that the first President Bush was surging toward the end of that year's campaign, and lost momentum only when Iran-contra prosecutor Lawrence Walsh decided to indict a prominent Republican the weekend before the election. But Robinson shows that the apparent surge-and-collapse of Bush's numbers was an artifact of changes in poll methods.

The Lewinsky scandal was a milestone for polling—had the polls gone against Clinton, he might well have been removed. The poll results, in turn, were affected by the media's decision to ask the public whether Clinton should be removed from office, rather than whether Starr should submit a report, whether the House Judiciary Committee should hold hearings, etc. During Watergate, the polls mainly stuck to the next stage of the process, allowing public support for Nixon's impeachment to build up slowly.

Reporters lean on polls because they provide the illusion of numerical certainty amid all the spin. In political campaigns, reporters are torn between the conflicting desires to stay with the herd and to write a new story: Changes in the poll numbers provide the pivot point that lets everyone know when to make the switch together. Now the candidate whose campaign was brilliant last week is revealed as a sad-sack loser. His initiative on health care has bombed. How do we know that? Because he's down in the polls. Why is he down in the polls? Because his health-care initiative has bombed.

The overreliance on polls has the effect of overestimating public support for small policies that seem innocuous to voters. But it kills big ideas in the crib. Voters' initial reaction to any sweeping change is likely to be negative, so the first polls on it will show that it is unpopular. From then on, the idea can be dismissed as such. Polls can interfere with the formation of public opinion.

They can also create the illusion that public opinion exists when it does not. Reports that discuss what the public thinks about stem-cell research, or the Middle East peace process, are pointless because the public has no coherent, consolidated view on these matters, at least at the level of specificity needed to guide action. Polls, and media summaries of them, routinely gloss over the vast public ignorance and apathy that makes them so fluid.

Robinson does not shy away from this point. He writes that the reason poll results vary so widely—based on minor changes in wording—is that most people haven't given the issue in question much thought. They may tell a pollster that education is the top issue facing the nation, and the candidates may spend all their time talking about it as a result. But very few people will pay sufficient attention to know where the candidates stand on education.

Robinson may judge the voters a little too harshly: While it would be nice if they knew more about their government, some disengagement is inevitable and not irrational. (Modern government does too much for anyone to keep track of it all.) Moreover, given the dimensions of the problem that the author identifies, his proposed reforms are inadequate. Robinson wants the media to cover issues rather than polls, and for pollsters to force respondents to make trade-offs among competing goods rather than let them declare support for all nice-sounding things. But wouldn't either step increase the scope for political bias?

Robinson's case is, however, sound in its essentials. He has used the subject of the media and polls as a window on what's wrong with our political culture—and produced a contemporary brief for the representative and deliberative democracy the Founders wisely sought. If we have departed from their plan, the fault lies not in our polls but in ourselves. **NR**

■ TRAVEL ■

Gulf de Luxe

THEODORE DALRYMPLE

THERE is only one seven-star hotel in the world: the Burj Al Arab in Dubai, in the United Arab Emirates. It rises over 1,000 feet in the sky from a man-made island in the Persian Gulf, and though it is supposed to resemble the white sail of a traditional Arab dhow, to me it looked more like a rocket from a 1940s science-fiction comic. The toy of the oil-enriched Sheikh al-Maktoum, it is seldom even half full: not altogether surprisingly, since the cheapest room is $885 a night, and the most expensive—the Royal Suite—is $8,192 (mere Presidential Suites are $6,553—who says that breeding counts for nothing?). For those who cannot afford the experience itself, a postcard is available of the royal bathroom.

Inside, one feels that Frank Lloyd Wright has joined forces with King Farouk, abetted perhaps by D. W. Griffith. It is impossible not to be impressed by an atrium several hundred feet high, with gold pilasters and huge tropical aquaria beside the escalators, and electronically controlled fountains that perform ever-changing arabesques, making a sound like the rhythmic clapping of hands in a Bedouin tent.

The decoration and furnishings are best described as sheikh-rococo, mainly crimson and gold, and in a gallery on the 17th floor a British artist sells his terrible hyper-realist paintings of desert fauna at $30,000 each, the exhibition sponsored by such well-known patrons of the visual arts as British Aerospace and Lockheed.

There is a restaurant 656 feet above the sea (with a truly breathtaking view), and one several yards below it too, where,

Mr. Dalrymple works in a prison and a hospital situated in a British slum. He is a contributing editor of *City Journal*, and his most recent book is *Life at the Bottom: The Worldview That Makes the Underclass*.

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according to the brochure, you can "feast on the fruits of the sea, surrounded by the Gulf's multi-colored marine life, either in the main dining room or one of the private dining rooms." One wonders whether someday a Western academic, resident in the Middle East, will rise up and write a book entitled "Occidentalism."

Of course, I didn't stay at the Burj al Arab. Like most people, I paid my $30 to visit (redeemable at any of the bars, restaurants, or gift shops selling, inter alia, Burj al Arab T-shirts and baseball caps). Visits are tightly controlled by a multitude of handsome and elegant attendants, who exude a kind of groveling menace, so that one wonders what exquisite punishments await those who refuse to obey their orders. On each floor with bedrooms, a beautiful but forceful woman sits at a vast and well-equipped desk, like a very upmarket version of the KGB babushka who used, in the good old days, to sit at the entrance to every floor of a Soviet hotel, to survey and inform on the comings and goings—and, at the Burj, to prevent *nous, les ploucs*, as my (French) wife put it, us the bumpkins, from disturbing the peace of the moneyed.

■

In a showdown between Saladin and Toys "R" Us, the toys might win.

■

The staff of the Burj are drawn from the graceful young people of every nation in need or desire of a tax-free income and a bit of adventure: and one realizes, as one watches them deal with the unimaginably rich, that obsequiousness carried so far ceases to be a defect of character or an imposition, but an almost sensuous pleasure, as well as an implicit form of satire.

I was in Dubai en route to Australia, and as it happened it was the week of Dubai's "traditional" annual Shopping Festival (for what is life but a brief interlude of shopping between two eternities of oblivion?). Attendance this year was down because of certain events last September: but in any case, "traditional" is a relative word. In Dubai, a building that dates from the 1930s is a historical relic, for the place was but a small trading port even 35 years ago. A tiny population of Bedouin suddenly found itself fantastically rich, and a modern city arose from the sands. In the twinkling of an eye, cruising the shopping malls overtook the finding of water as the main business of life.

If anyone doubts (as I did) the truth of Adam Smith's dictum that with sufficient subsidies the finest vintages could be produced on the blasted heaths of Scotland, he should visit Dubai. Manicured grass is as alien to the geography and climate of Dubai as the production of Château Margaux is to the climate and geography of Sutherlandshire: yet the golf course in Dubai exceeds in greenness by far anything found in Ireland.

The labor that keeps the verdure green and the shopping malls stocked and air-conditioned is, of course, considerable. The effort seems by turns absurd and horrible: for when you arrive in Dubai, you see immense lines of Thais, Filipinos, and Indians waiting to have their permits stamped (there are 1.2 million expatriate workers in Dubai to 862,000 citizens), and you cannot help wondering how this army of labor is treated, with what disdain, how overworked and exploited. But sentiment soon gives way to the logic of Adam Smith: They are not forced to come and have obviously calculated that Dubai was better than staying at home. There are whole communities whose route out of poverty is labor in the Gulf. (There is a thriving subculture of Russian prostitution.)

It is useless to pretend, though, that Dubai is a place with much character, or of deep attraction except to those intent on buying electronic appliances a little cheaper than at home. It has hardly even the charm of the hybridized culture, and when I asked for the location of a restaurant to which I wished to go, I was told without a trace of irony that it was on Saladin Street next to Toys "R" Us. No one saw the paradox until I pointed it out, and even then they were not quite sure what was funny about it. In any future showdown between Saladin and Toys "R" Us, therefore, I suspect that the toys might win.

It is easy to mock: but I have been to other places that were suddenly flooded with easy money, where the results were far, far worse than in Dubai—for example, Nauru, a little island in the Pacific

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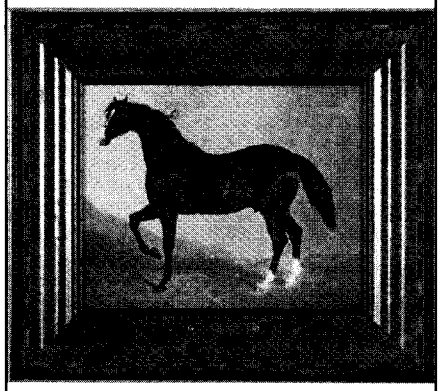

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that, thanks to phosphate rock, was for a time one of the richest places on earth. Disaster resulted: Half the people ate so much they became diabetic, and then the islanders were swindled out of their money by an Australian lawyer. The Nauruans were left with a moonscape island, plenty of diabetes, but no cash. (Admittedly, the Nauruans were at a much lower level of development than the Gulf Arabs.)

It cannot be very easy to go successfully from virtual subsistence to wealthy modernity, especially through no efforts of your own, in a single generation, and the results are likely to prove either tragic or comic, or both. Vulgar display is always one possibility, though when carried out on the scale of the Burj Al Arab it transcends vulgarity and achieves a certain magnificence. The Burj is the Versailles of our time, and I am not altogether sure that its taste is so very much worse.

Meanwhile, the Shopping Festival must go on. When my Emirates aircraft landed—and incidentally, this is the best airline in the world, at least the best known to me—a song from a well-known musical was piped through the cabin. The dunes are alive with the sound of Muzak. **NR**

■ SHELF LIFE ■

JUSTUS GEORGE LAWLER gives every impression of being a lefty on Catholic Church matters: He refers to Pope John Paul II's belief about contraception—namely, that it is connected to a contemporary "culture of death"—as "ludicrous" and "a diabolic fetishizing of condoms"; he stresses the need, among local bishops, for greater independence from Rome; and he has all the customary liberal views about the environment, capital punishment, nuclear disarmament, and so on.

All of which makes it simply amazing that he has written a very good book *attacking* today's most famous Catholic lefties—James Carroll, Garry Wills, John Cornwell, and all the other usual suspects—for vitriolic bias and shoddy scholarship. In *Popes and Politics: Reform, Resentment, and the Holocaust* (Continuum, 252 pp., $24.95), Lawler examines the recent attacks on Pope Pius XII and on the current Church hierarchy, and finds them seriously wanting both as accounts of the truth and as blueprints for Church reform. He catches the erudite Wills, for example, in a number of scholarly errors; but much more importantly, he raises some deeper questions about the Willsian project: "The fundamental flaw in [Wills's] invocation of structural sin or structural deceit as the explanatory device for all aberrant acts, all failures and errors [of] the contemporary church . . . [is] that it removes the church from its historic reality as a temporal institution undeniably progressing, by fits and starts like any other institution, over two millennia of growth."

■

Lawler has written a very good book attacking today's most famous Catholic lefties.

■

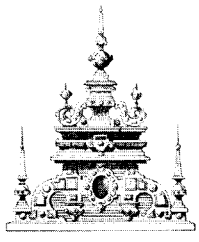
In the work of Wills and others, says Lawler, this broad-brush denunciation of the Church hierarchy shows an indifference to "the human element" in the people they are attacking:

> To publicly deploy texts and interpretations that are clearly distorted, or to bring overcharged rhetoric to the arraignment before one's private bar of justice of bishops and popes, past and present . . . smacks less of the creation of an informed public opinion than of playing to the gallery, less of calm conversion and regeneration than of mobocracy and religious "McCarthyism"—if not of mere self-aggrandizement.

Lawler proposes another model of Church reform, one based on telling the truth as one sees it—and remaining patient. (His book is dedicated to two controversial theologians—Yves Congar and Henri de Lubac—who were silenced by the Vatican on suspicion of heresy early in their careers but ended up being named cardinals by Pope John Paul II.) But one need not share all, or indeed any, of Lawler's reform agenda to admire the intellectual vigor, unflinching honesty, and puckish wit of his assaults on Wills and his cohorts. In discussing, for example, their denunciation of Pius XII for refusing to criticize the Nazis by name, he says that "the exercise of a modest historical sensibility, much less any semblance of empathy," would suggest that this is like complaining that "the Declaration of Independence 'refused to name' George III, or that the Emancipation Proclamation 'refused to name' Jefferson Davis or the Confederacy."

Lawler's book includes a sprinkling of attacks on Church conservatives—he calls Richard John Neuhaus "sanctimonious," for instance, without pausing to give any evidence of Fr. Neuhaus's supposed sanctimony—but these potshots at the Right are few and far between. Make no mistake: This book, whatever its author's intention might be, will offer a great deal of aid and comfort to Catholic conservatives.

■ Because of America's separation of church and state, religion has managed to play a very important part in our public life without giving rise to the poisonous anticlericalism that has afflicted so many other countries. Religion remains a powerful underpinning of our national character and self-image, as evidenced in Eugene F. Hemrick's new book, *One Nation Under God: Religious Symbols, Quotes, and Images in Our Nation's Capital* (Our Sunday Visitor, 142 pp., $6.95). Hemrick, a Catholic priest at a Capitol Hill parish, has found his neighborhood "inundated with religious inspiration" in its statuary and inscriptions: Moses presides over a frieze atop the Supreme Court building; a bronze St. Paul graces the main reading room of the Library of Congress; the Capitol itself houses statuary honoring such great religious figures of the American past as Jacques Marquette, Junípero Serra, Martin Luther King Jr., and Father Damien of Molokai.



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WILLIAM F. BUCKLEY JR.

Can the Church Survive?

NEW YORK, MARCH 29

TIME magazine's cover line is "Can the Catholic Church Save Itself?" Author Frank McCourt is quoted: "The church is going to lose children and families, and it's doing this to itself. If this all continues, the church will disappear."

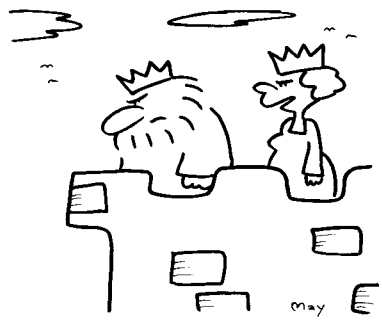
On this thought, a Catholic might say: If the Church disappears, it will be God's fault. Christians believe that He founded the Church. If it is to disappear because of scandalous behavior by a cohort of American priests, then perhaps the whole idea of Christianity was, after all, an epiphenomenon. One that lasted a very long time, but proved of insufficient stamina to survive.

It becomes clearer every day that the fraternity of American critics has discovered sin. The uproar today has substantially to do with clerical ineptitude. The bishop who did not report the priestly abuser to the police is being held responsible for incremental abuses, much as a parole board might be held responsible for letting out someone who then reengages in crime. You can't sue a parole board, but you can sue a diocese, and this is being widely done.

But people are also asking for new distillations of policy, social, civil, and theological. We begin with celibacy. Almost everywhere we are told that Catholic reliance on it for its clergy should end. Perhaps it should, though we are left wondering why this should have taken 20 centuries to discover; yet there is no obvious appetite to probe what it is in these years that anachronizes the call to celibacy. There is no reason to suppose that the libido was less active in the year 1902 than today. What is acknowledged, but not very deeply explored, is the quite general conviction that sex is king. Then there is the accompanying question of homosexuality, or, more reliably mentioned, homophobia. Fifty years ago, in my own college with an undergraduate body of 5,000 male students, one could not recall a single homosexual. Now, they are expected to march in the St. Patrick's Day parade. And we know, too, that there were indeed homosexuals on campus. They were certainly not encouraged to give rein to their impulses; perhaps better said, they were intimidated in the matter. Resentment is firm against homosexual advances toward children, but the question is not explored whether that crime—which was then, continues to be, and will be in the future, a sin—has increased in proportion to the toleration of the practice at an adult level.

At the civil level, we gravitate to the conclusion that episcopal responsibility for order in religious communities cannot be relied on any more. Cardinal Egan of New York has said that henceforth he will relay all reported abuses to the police, but advises that he will do so only when the family of the aggrieved consents: It is by no means proved by the scandals that every adolescent boy or girl is willing to take the stand to describe what happened, and submit to the cross examination of the insurance company's lawyer. What certainly will happen is an end to the forlorn conviction by many dioceses that psychological counseling was all that was required to protect against the recurrence of the crime.

The dominant sadness of the day is the bereavement of the Catholic community over the triumph of sinful temptations in so many men prepared to give over their lives to the spiritual service of others. Which teaches us—what, exactly? Fr. Andrew Greeley accosted the question some years ago, commenting, "The question is not whether the Catholic leadership is enlightened but whether Catholicism is true. A whole College of Cardinals filled with psychopathic tyrants provides no answer one way or another to that question." And the most direct answer to the question posed by *Time* magazine on its cover: "Search for the perfect church, if you will; when you find it, join it, and realize that on that day it becomes something less than perfect."



"Yelling 'Offsides!' is no good—
You have to defend the border!"

Are People Being Rude?

NEW YORK, APRIL 5

DO you have e-mail? Do you have a telephone-answering device?

I ask because I am intrigued by an observation recently heard. Proposition One: If you don't have a telephone-answering facility, you are just plain rude. Not intentionally, but de facto.

Proposition Two: If you don't have e-mail, you are being a premature Luddite. Full-grown Luddites reject e-mail facilities because they reject the whole idea of technological advances. They reject them not as the original Luddites rejected invention: The British agricultural workers tore up textile labor-saving devices on the grounds that they caused unemployment. A premature Luddite is not someone who rejects inventions per se, but someone who doesn't get around to exploring their usefulness and lets them pass by his life, simply unnoticed.

But begin with the telephone, because the absence of message recorders is, indeed, an act of incivility. The narrative here is pretty plain. If you are calling somebody who isn't home, the burden of having to call again and—sometimes—again and again because a recording wasn't at hand to advise that she was away until the end of the month makes your burden unnecessary, annoying, and sometimes even cruel.

When dealing with telephones, a diplomatic question is posed. If you are calling Alice to tell her that her house is on fire, the consequences of her inattention are pretty emphatic. If you are calling to say that you can't be there for the bridge game tomorrow, either you have to keep calling until she answers, or she will find herself responsible for the empty chair.

That's when the call-ee suffers from the failure to provide a facility for leaving messages. If the caller is ringing to wish someone a happy birthday, the frustration is that of the initiator. He has either to call again later, or run the risk of forgetting to do so; and the party of the second part is someone whose day might otherwise have been brightened. If the Emily Post people haven't gotten around to listing an answering machine as a social obligation, they are derelict, and should be—called.

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Classify this column as one such call.

Now the e-mail business is trickier. If a person is simply determined not to sign on to e-mail, it's probably that he is refusing to use a computer. Now a lot of people are simply afraid of computers. They fear that technical problems will overwhelm them. They don't know how to touch-type, and their hunt-peck is irresolute; and anyway, you have to plug things in and you have to move arrows around the screen and you have to remember to push that button not the other and you know that halfway through, your letter will suddenly vanish from the screen and—the hell with it.

There isn't much one can do about the deprived, except perhaps call them on the phone and stroke them. But there are other species, which we call The Defiant. It may stretch the imagination, but it is true that 100 years ago there were people who would not step foot in an automobile; and of course there are those who even now will not fly.

But the social implications of e-mail aren't given due notice. Those who use e-mail know instantly what is meant by this. The ability to call up a name, bat out a sentence or two, dispatch the message free of charge, and send copies to one or more friends or associates, is a facility for the user that is hard to overestimate and thoughtless to disdain.

What about the prospective recipient? If you know that 20 people are going to write you one or more times in the course of a year, is it not benevolent to make their act easier? The postal mailbox (an invention of Anthony Trollope) was a painkiller; a contrivance that diminished a labor of life, the daily trip to the post office. Doesn't it follow that e-mail diminishes the menial side of correspondence? Think how many more letters Abigail Adams might have written, how much more time saved, if she and her friends had had access to e-mail.

Such objections as that e-mail makes you liable to unwelcome intrusions (in the trade they call these "spam") are phony. The mailbox can bring you 20 unwelcome objects for every one you want to read. It is much more cumbersome to open, glance at, and throw away a piece of unwanted mail than to extinguish life on the screen—Zip! Zap! It's gone!

Well, granted there is a lot of road noise in modern technology. Yet every now and then we should doff our hats to it. Herewith mine.

Sharon's Contribution

NEW YORK, APRIL 12

My vote is that General Sharon's offensive is the stupidest campaign in recent memory. Defined here as a campaign that has: solved nothing, increased Israel's problems, intensified Palestinian hatred of Israel, estranged many Europeans and Americans, and fanned Islamic hostility. What is General Sharon up to?

What he said was that he was determined to destroy the "infrastructure" of the suicide terrorists.

Well, how do you do that?

We Americans are trying to do that to al-Qaeda. This involved a war on the government of Afghanistan, a nation formally identified with terrorists it sheltered, trained, and dispatched to do their grisly work. The U.S. in effect declared war on the Taliban government and pursued that war as best it could. Having toppled Kabul, our anti-terrorist forces are now deployed here and there, doing such things as raiding a terrorist nest in Pakistan and hauling in a suspected leader.

Sharon's policy is scorched-earth. Under his command, the Israeli army has engaged not in isolating the infrastructure of the suicide terrorists. What he is engaged in is wanton damage. The *New York Times*'s Serge Schmemann, reporting from Jerusalem, tells it in a dispatch on Thursday with a memorable lead:

"The images are indelible: piles of concrete and twisted metal in the ancient casbah of Nablus, husks of savaged computers littering ministries in Ramallah, rows of storefronts sheared by passing tanks in Tulkarm, broken pipes gushing precious water, flattened cars in fields of shattered glass and garbage, electricity poles snapped like twigs, tilting walls where homes used to stand, gaping holes where rockets pierced office buildings." And he uses Sharon's missionary mandate without apparent irony: "It is safe to say that the infrastructure of life itself and of any future Palestinian state—roads, schools, electricity pylons, water pipes, telephone lines—has been devastated." How's that for retaliation for the Passover massacre?

What Sharon has been doing is to give way to Israeli rage. The rage is hot, deserved, and purposive. But to proceed on the assumption that water and electricity lines and schools and hospitals are vital organs of terrorist excursions is untenable except on an understanding that General Sharon hasn't articulated. If you say: The poison that animates the suicide bombers is endemic in every stick and stone that make up the West Bank, then it would follow that a destruction of everything and of everybody standing would follow, as an inoculation would serve to chase down the infection in any part of the diseased body. Sharon hasn't ordered his soldiers to mow down every Palestinian standing, but his artillery and air force haven't been discriminating—there is no way to be entirely discriminating in a military offensive designed to find something that can't be found, namely the fuse box that causes an 18-year-old Palestinian girl to arm herself with a bomb and detonate it in an Israeli mall. There aren't, sitting about, neat paramilitary kiosks with explosives and rosters of willing terrorists. The search for these was bound to be fruitless, rather like looking for the infrastructure of lechery in Gomorrah.

General Sharon might have sent in a platoon, pulled out Arafat and his 100 lieutenants, and executed them on the entirely reasonable grounds that they embodied the terrorist movement in the West Bank. A bullet into the heart of Arafat is not a wayward contribution to the search for the infrastructure of the evil and genocidal war against Israel. So Palestine would be left leaderless? Such a problem would be that of the Palestinians who have tolerated Arafat for so many years.

What has been done is to enhance and even legitimize Palestinian grievances. "After four days of heavy fighting," the *Times* dispatch goes on, "the Casbah, as the centuries-old warren of shops and homes at the center of [Nablus] is known, has been utterly destroyed."

How would we feel in analogous circumstances? What happened to Atlanta, Georgia, in 1864 at the hands of General Sherman was perceived through the lens of a great civil war, a surrender of the losing side, and the heart and mind of a magnanimous national leader who sought to heal the wounds of a nation torn asunder. Such elements aren't there in the Mideast. Sharon has wounded the State of Israel incalculably, causing ache and pain not only to Palestinians, but to his people, and to friends of Israel everywhere.

—Universal Press Syndicate

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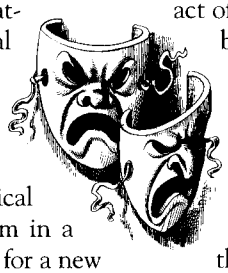
■ THE MISANTHROPE'S CORNER ■

FLORENCE KING

NOBODY talks about "Yankee ingenuity" anymore but it used to be a proud catchphrase. Americans were the people who could invent anything, from machines to ourselves.

We used the same technique for both. First, we discerned what was needed and produced it, then we identified the kinks and tinkered with them until we came up with a new, improved model. On the personal level we spoke unabashedly of "reinventing ourselves," celebrating the practice as an essential part of the American Dream.



As long as we confined our ingenuity to machines and self-improvement we had the advantage of dealing with physical matter. You might lose an arm in a machine or a spouse in a quest for a new image, but at least these things are tangible.

The same cannot be said for our latest venture. We're tinkering with concepts now, and the one we have decided to improve upon is so abstract that we don't even realize we're tinkering with it: Freud's theory of Ego, Superego, and Id.

The Ego is a nice young man with rosy cheeks and good prospects. The commonsense realm of the psyche, the Ego urges us to act out of self-interest; to do things that grease our path through life and make us look good, such as deferring to the boss, being neat and clean, and telling white lies. This Freudian Ego, once the American beau ideal, was derailed when the Sixties enshrined "authenticity" and demanded unconditional acceptance. We granted it, carefully refraining from finding fault with anybody for anything, until the new, improved American Ego brought about the collapse of civility that the best and the brightest bemoan and ponder on every op-ed page.

Freud's Superego is a teacher's pet in a Roman toga. The idealistic realm of the psyche, the Superego governs abstractions like duty, honor, nobility of spirit, and making decisions on "a matter of principle." But duty, honor, noble spirits, and matters of principle are lofty stuff, and we can't have that: Somebody might feel "threatened."

There is something Roman about lofty abstractions, but there is nothing Roman about easily threatened Americans unless you count the gelatinous blob that washes ashore at the end of *La Dolce Vita*. Give them a choice between acting on principle and following the bumper-sticker injunction to commit a random act of kindness, and they will take the bumper sticker every time. No country that has declared war on elitism can tolerate a Freudian Superego, so we have produced an American model, the Make-Nice PDQ. It runs on empty.

Thanks to Yankee ingenuity, the Id is but a shadow of its former self. The classic Id is the primitive member of the psychical triumvirate that horrifies the civilized Ego and the idealistic Superego by bringing us face to face with our unspeakable urges—murder, rape, incest, and so forth. Americans have a plentiful supply of these, but we shunt them aside so that our Id can concentrate on more serious unspeakable urges such as racism, sexism, and homophobia. This is clearly not your father's Id: The Freudian Id is Mr. Hyde, but the American Id is Dr. Jekyll in a snit.

Freud reasoned that an Ego governed by social convention and a Superego governed by moral values would successfully "censor" the Id, leading to mental health and public safety. We, on the other hand, give the Ego free rein, censor the Superego, and let the Id censor us, and then wonder why mental health and public safety keep eluding us.

We are the world's most reluctant psychologists, craving the answers that insight alone can provide, yet loath to delve too deeply into human nature for fear of finding something we can't deal with. Shunning insight while noisily proclaiming that we "care about people" is awkward, however, so we have developed a compromise technique that might be called, with the usual American straight face, "unreflective insight." It is insight reduced to shallow, mawkish efforts to "understand" the suffering of the victim du jour by asking dumb questions ("What went through your mind when . . . ?") or by airing superficial documentaries on venerated neurotics like Marilyn Monroe and Judy Garland, featuring a bathrobe-clad Hugh Hefner gassing about "the quality of vulnerability."

Being a writer has made me a lifelong practitioner of no-holds-barred insight, driven by an irresistible impulse to shovel through mountains of received bull to get to the bottom of things. My research tool is the unshockable member of the psychical triumvirate, the classic Id. Freud said we were supposed to censor it, but I release mine on its own recognizance to see what it can find out.

Take, for example, Andrea Yates. How did such an undesirable woman conceive all those kids in the first place? She looks like Olive Oyl crossed with Susan Sontag. What man would want to sleep with her?

Rusty Yates, that's who. When an unusually handsome man marries an unusually homely woman, all the sentimental slobs curl their toes and sigh, "Love is blind," but there's more to it than that. He may be a narcissist who needs to be the beautiful half of the couple. He may be an S.O.B. taking out kindness insurance to cover his true nature. Or he may be so insecure that he subconsciously picks a wife that other men won't try to take away from him.

Rusty displays aspects of all three. He has maintained his slickly perfect grooming, including that expensive haircut, throughout an ordeal that would find most men disheveled. He can't quite hide the flat coldness—like a wet suit with nobody in it—detectable beneath his cliché-perfect effusions of grief and sympathy. And most revealing of all, he is said to have expressed regret that he now has no children "to carry on my name." He strikes me as a man who is so unsure of himself that he fathers children to prove that he exists; without them, he isn't really "there." If Andrea sensed this too, she may have murdered his children as a way of murdering him.

"Nothing human is alien to me," said Terence. Me neither. **NR**

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Will Washington Honor Its Promises to U.S. Textile Workers?

The jobs of more than 100,000 U.S. textile workers depend on President Bush and GOP Congressional leaders honoring two big promises they made late last year.

The background is this: To expand NAFTA to include all of South America and allow negotiation of other trade pacts, the President asked Congress to give him Trade Promotion Authority (TPA) – legislation previously called "Fast Track."

TPA allows the President to hand Congress a completed trade deal which it then must consider with limited debate, no amendments, and an up or down vote.

To change several House votes on TPA legislation from no to yes, the President and House GOP leaders made two major promises.

First, the President promised Representative Robin Hayes (R-NC) that his Administration would find "ways to help our ally Pakistan without raising quotas and lowering tariffs for textile goods."

> ***"... no future bills with trade provisions to the House floor until the Trade and Development Act of 2001 is corrected to require knit and woven fabric be required to undergo all dyeing, finishing, and printing procedures in the US... "***
>
> **– Letter to Cong. Jim DeMint from Speaker Dennis Hastert, Majority Leader Richard Armey, Majority Whip Tom DeLay, December 6, 2001**

Second, the GOP House leadership promised Congressman Jim DeMint (R-SC) they "would bring no future bills with trade provisions to the House floor until the Trade and Development Act of 2001 is corrected to require knit and woven fabric be required to undergo all dyeing, finishing, and printing procedures in the US in order to qualify for the benefits of the Caribbean Basin Trade Partnership Act."

Consequently, the TPA squeaked through the House on a 215-214 vote in early December.

Now, powerful Congressmen and well-connected foreign lobbyists are urging the President to renege on these promises.

If he does, America will lose more than 100,000 good jobs, mostly in the Southeastern United States.

We think our leaders should honor their pledges to Representatives Hayes and DeMint.

We think keeping good paying, high quality manufacturing jobs in America matters.

What do you think?

For more information or to contact your elected officials and local media, go to www.craftedwithpride.org

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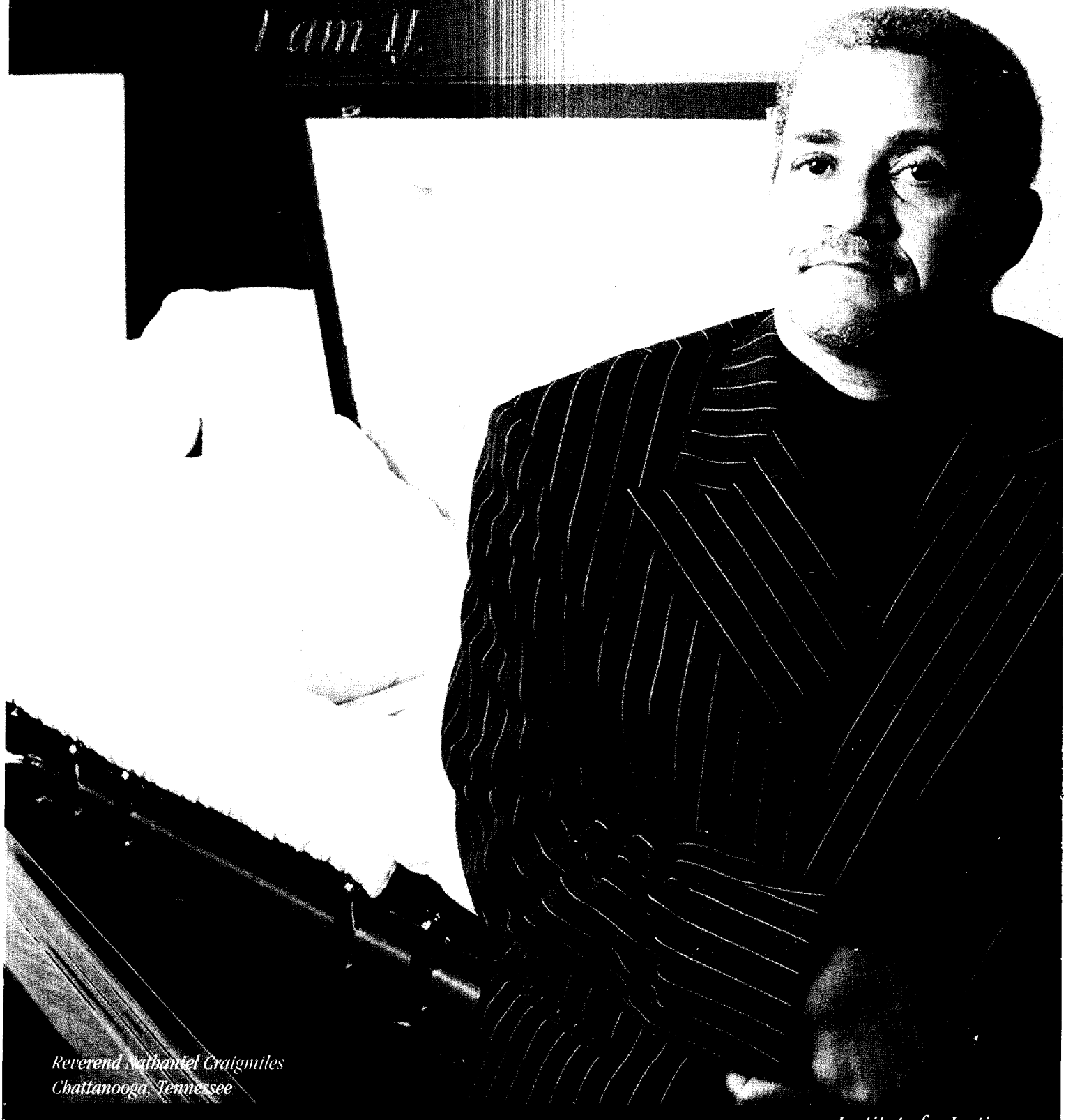

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